

The Philanthropist

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore in this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editors.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST,

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POETRY.

The following two stanzas are appended to Mr. Gallagher's beautiful poem, entitled "Cadwallen," recently published in this city.

LAND OF THE WEST!—thine early prime
Fades in the flight of hurrying Time;
Thy noble forests fall, as sweep
Europa's myriads o'er the Deep;
And thy broad plains, with welcome warm,
Receive the onward-pressing swarm:
On mountain height, in lowly vale,
By quiet lake, or gliding river,
Wherever sweeps the chainless gale,
Onward sweep they, forever.
Oh, may they come with hearts that ne'er
Can bend a tyrant's chain to wear;
With souls that would indignantly turn,
And proud Oppression's minions spurn;
With nerves of steel, and words of flame,
To strike and scar the wretch who'd bring our land to shame!

II.

LAND OF THE WEST!—beneath the Heaven
There's not a fairer, lovelier clime;
Nor one to which a lover given
A destiny more high, sublime.
From Alleghany's base to where
Our Western Andes probe the sky—
The home of Freedom's hearts is there,
And o'er it Freedom's eagles fly.
And here, should e'er Columbia's land
Be rent with fierce intestine feud,
Shall Freedom's latest cohorts stand,
Till Freedom's eagles sink in blood,
And quench'd are all the stars that now her banner stud!

TEXAS.

War with Mexico.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS!—There is reason to fear that a strenuous effort will be made at the next session of Congress, which convenes in September, to annex Texas to the United States! In connection with that measure, the nation would doubtless involve itself in a Mexican war. Some of the considerations which impel us to this conclusion, are the following.

1. The whole history of Texas plainly shows that the first settlers who emigrated from the United States, have had this object distinctly and constantly in view from the beginning up to the present time.

2. This object has been and still is, a matter of extreme solicitude to the so-called Texans, who have provided in their Constitution for the introduction of domestic slavery into Texas, after it had been abolished by the Mexican government, and who have no hope of maintaining slavery there, unless connected with the United States. Slavery being forbidden by the laws of Mexico, the loss of independence would be the abolition of slavery; and even if it were possible that Texas could sustain its independence without the aid of the United States, they very well know that England would not permit the establishment of a new slaveholding nation, so near the newly emancipated population of the British West Indies.

3. The Texan insurrection against Mexico was obviously entered into with the intention and expectation of becoming annexed to the United States. The proofs on this point are abundant and will not be questioned.

4. It is equally certain that the great body of the people of our southern states, including their prominent statesmen, have been looking forward with anxious expectation for the annexation of Texas to this country, even before the tide of emigration began to pour in upon it, from the United States.

5. The Texan insurrection has been wholly carried on by emigrants from the United States, and sometimes seemingly countenanced by the presence of United States troops.

6. No one supposes that the Texan insurgents, aside from the anticipated aid of the United States, would promise themselves the least prospect of succeeding in the establishment of their independence.

7. The vast amount of capital, whether fictitious or real, invested in the Texas lands, by the citizens of the United States, both at the North and the South, and especially in our large mercantile cities, has been invested with the view of two things, which have been invariably connected together, by the adventurers in those speculations, viz., the cultivation of those lands by slave labor, and the stability of slave-holding institutions under the protection of the United States.

8. The people of the slave-holding states, who never lose sight of an opportunity to strengthen themselves in the councils of the national government, by the admission of new slave states, can not fail to embrace the opportunity thus afforded of increasing their political power.

9. The planters of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, who continue the slave system chiefly for the purpose of raising herds of human cattle for the southwestern market, are anxiously looking for the vast addition to that market, which would be opened by the annexation of Texas to the United States.

10. The sudden, and hasty, and unexpected recognition of Texan independence, by the United States, at the close of the last session of Congress, plainly indicates a disposition to bring the matter to a speedy crisis, and it can not be supposed that the independence of that province would have been recognized under circumstances so peculiar and extraordinary, unless it had been intended to follow up that measure by the only course of action which would render it of any effect. The United States, in a word, by acknowledging the independence of Texas, at a time when it was well known to the civilized world that, without the aid of the United States, that independence could not be sustained, was almost equivalent to a declaration that the United States was determined to maintain that independence, at all hazards.

11. The recent warlike movements against Mexico, and the united clamor of the political presses against the alleged aggressions of that power, at a time when all the world knows that the aggressions are on the other side, are sufficiently indicative of a disposition to plunge the nation in a Mexican war, as a pretext for seizing upon Texas, and annexing it to the United States.

12. Individuals whose opportunities have given them the best advantages for forming an intelligent opinion on this subject, are strongly apprehensive that the coming September session of Congress will be promptly seized upon as a favorable opportunity to secure the accomplishment of these objects.

13. These suspicions are confirmed by the extraordinary course of the political presses, especially those which may be supposed to take their clue from the chief sources of influence and power. While no opportunity is spared to throw out hints and suggestions which might serve to reconcile the people to a Mexican war and the accession of Texas, there is, at the same time, a most incongruous and over-strained effort, to lull the fears of the people to sleep, and make them believe that there will be no movement for the annexation of Texas, at present!

14. The probability of such an effort, at the September session, is increased by the fact that the community, everywhere, are profoundly quiet and free from apprehension and alarm on the subject. We speak now of that numerous body of citizens, of all parties, who would doubtless speak out, in thunder tones, against the consummation of such a project, if they supposed there was any serious danger it was about to be realized. If this class of men were wide awake and at their posts, there would be less reason to believe that the measure would be attempted.

There is little reason to believe that the independence of Texas would have been acknowledged at the last session, if there had been any previous apprehension, in the minds of the people at large, that such an event was about to take place. Remonstrance upon remonstrance would have been poured upon the national legislature. But there was no effort, because there was no alarm. The message of President Jackson and the speech of Governor McDuffie, (whatever might have been intended by those documents,) undoubtedly had the effect to make the almost universal impression that no attempt would be made during the session to acknowledge the independence of Texas. The impression that it would not be attempted, was, without doubt, the principal secret of its success. The friends of liberty and of the Union should see well to it that they are not caught slumbering a second time, on their posts. If they are, they must not be surprised if the wreck of our free institutions should finally prove to have been owing to their own inactivity and supineness. We speak not as partisans, and have no party ends to accomplish. To rail at the administration is no part of our desire. We call on all good citizens and especially on those who have influence with the individuals now in power, to step forward at a crisis like the present, and save the administration, by saving the country, from blood guiltiness, from retribution, from disgrace, disaster, and irretrievable ruin.—Friend of Man.

SLAVERY

The Authority of a Slave-holder over his Slave.

We are about to present a very important piece of testimony, which we hope will be attentively read and seriously weighed. It is a judicial decision of one of the most distinguished judges of North Carolina, extracted from Wheeler's "Law of Slavery," a work recommended to the members of the Southern Bar, by the Hon. Judge Hitchcock, of Alabama. We omit the argument by which the learned Judge shows that the *hiv* of a slave, for the time being, is clothed with all the rights and authority of the owner.—Human Rights.

THE STATE V. MANN, DEC. T. 1829, 2 Devereaux's North Carolina Rep. 263.

The defendant was indicted for an assault and battery upon Lydia, the slave of one Elizabeth Jones. On the trial, it appeared that the defendant had hired the slave for a year; that during the term the slave had committed some small offence, for which the defendant undertook to chastise her; that while in the act of so doing, the slave ran off; whereupon the defendant called upon her to stop, which being refused, he shot at and wounded her. The judge in the court below, charged the jury, that if they believed the punishment inflicted by the defendant was cruel and unwarrentable, and disproportionate to the offence committed by the slave, that in law the defendant was guilty, as he had only a special property in the slave.—A verdict was returned to the State, and the defendant appealed.

DECISION OF JUDGE RUFFIN.

A judge cannot but lament, when such cases as the present are brought into judgment. It is impossible that the reasons on which they can be appreciated but where institutions similar to our own exist, and are thoroughly understood. The struggle, too, in the judge's own breast, between the feelings of the man, and the duty of the magistrate, is a severe one, presenting strong temptation to put aside such questions, if it be possible. It is useless, however, to complain of things inherent in our political state. And it is criminal in a court to avoid any responsibility which the laws impose. With whatever reluctance, therefore, it is done, the court is compelled to express an opinion upon the extent of the dominion of the master over the slave in North Carolina.

Upon the general question, whether the owner is answerable criminally, for a battery upon his own slave, or other exercise of authority or force, not forbidden by statute, the court entertains but little doubt. That he is so liable, has never been decided; nor, as far as is known, been hitherto contended. There has been no prosecution of the sort. The established habits and uniform practice of the country in this respect, is the best evidence of the portion of power deemed by the whole community requisite to the preservation of the master's dominion. If we thought differently, we could not set our notions in array against the judgment of every body else, and say that this, or that authority, may be safely lopped off. This has indeed been assimilated at the bar to the other domestic relations; and arguments drawn from the well-established principles, which confer and restrain the authority of the parent over the child, the tutor over the pupil, the master over the apprentice, have been pressed on us. The court does not recognize their application. There is no likeness between the cases. (1.) They are in opposition to each other, and there is an impassable gulf between them. The difference is, that which exists between freedom and slavery—and a greater cannot be imagined. In the one, the end in view is the happiness of the youth, born to equal rights with that governor, on whom the duty devolves of training the youth to usefulness, in a station which he is afterwards to assume as freemen.—To such an end, and with such a subject, moral and intellectual instruction seem the natural means; and for the most part, they are found to suffice. Moderate force is superadded, only to make the others effectual. If that fail, it is better to leave the party to its own headstrong passions, and the ultimate correction of the laws, than to allow it to be immediately inflicted by a private person.—With slavery, it is far otherwise. The end is the profit of the master, (2.) his security and the public safety; the subject, one doomed in his own person, and his posterity, to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. What moral considerations shall be addressed to such a being, to convince him, what is impossible but that the most labor must feel and know can never be true, that he is thus to labor upon a principle of natural duty, or for the sake of his own personal happiness. Such exercises can only be expected from one who has no will of his own; who surrenders his will in implicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontrolled authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce the effect. The power of the master must be absolute, to render the submission of the slave perfect. I most freely confess my sense of the harshness of this proposition. I feel it as deeply

as any man can. And as a principle of moral right, every person in his retirement must repudiate it. (3.) But in the actual condition of things, it must be so. There is no remedy. The discipline belongs to the state of slavery. They cannot be disunited, without abrogating at once the rights of the master, and absolving the slave from his subjection. It constitutes the curse of slavery to both the bond and the free portions of our population. But it is inherent in the relation of master and slave. That there may be particular instances of cruelty and deliberate barbarity, where in conscience the law might properly interfere, is most probable.

The difficulty is to determine, where a court may properly begin. Merely in the abstract, it may well be asked, which power of the master accords with right? The answer will probably sweep away all of them. But we cannot not look at the matter in that light. The truth is, that we are forbidden to enter upon a train of general reasoning upon the subject. We cannot allow the right of the master to be brought into discussion in the courts of justice.

(4.) The slave, to remain a slave, must be made sensible that there is no appeal from his master; that his power is, in no instance, usurped; but it is conferred by the laws of man, at least, if not by the law of God. The danger would be great indeed, if the tribunals of justice should be called on to graduate the punishment appropriate to every temper; and every dereliction of mental duty. No man can anticipate the slave would be constantly stimulated, by his own passions, or the indignation of others, to give; or the consequent wrath of the master, prompting him to bloody vengeance, upon the turbulent traitor; a vengeance generally practised with impunity, by reason of its privacy. The court, therefore, disclaims the power of changing the relation in which these parts of our people stand to each other.

We are happy to see, that there is daily less and less occasion for the interposition of the courts. (5.) The protection already afforded by several statutes, that the powerful motive, the private interest of the owner, the benevolence towards each other, seated in the hearts of those who have been born and bred together, the frowns and deep execrations of the community upon the barbarian, who is guilty of excessive and brutal cruelty to his unprotected slave, all combined, have produced a mildness of treatment and attention to the comforts of the unfortunate class of slaves, greatly mitigating the rigors of servitude, and ameliorating the condition of the slaves.

The same causes are operating, and will continue to operate with increased action, until the disparity in numbers between the whites and blacks shall have rendered the latter in no degree dangerous to the former, when the police now existing, may be further relaxed. (6.) This result, greatly to be desired, may be much more rationally expected from the events above alluded to, and now in process, than from any rash expositions of abstract truths, by a judiciary tainted with a false and fanatical philanthropy, seeking to redress an acknowledged evil, by means still more wicked and appalling than even that evil. (7.) I repeat, that I would have gladly avoided this ungrateful question. But being brought to it, the court is compelled to declare, that while slavery exists amongst us in its present state, or until it shall seem fit to the legislature to interpose express enactments to the contrary, it will be the imperative duty of the judges to recognize the full dominion of the owner over the slave, except where the exercise of it is forbidden by statute. And this we do upon the ground, that this dominion is essential to the value of slaves as property, to the security of the master, and the public tranquility, greatly dependent upon their subordination; and, in fine, as most effectually securing the general protection and comfort of these slaves themselves.—Judgment below reversed; and judgment entered for the defendant.—pp. 244—248.

COMMENTS.

1. So say the abolitionists. If the reasoning of the North Carolina Judge, on this point is correct, what becomes of those defenses of slavery, not rare even at the north, which assume the similarity of slavery to family government? We would recommend to the editors of some of our religious papers, to go to school to Judge Ruffin if they can learn the difference between being a child and a chattel.

2. And yet, says the Rev. Prof. Hodge, of Princeton, the relation is not wrong in itself considered. And other divines tell us that we may honestly hold this relation, for the very purpose of robbery, provided we do not hold it for the selfish end. That is to say, we may honestly steal, if we do not do it for selfish ends.

3. Who shall say, then, that the consciences of the slaveholders are not on the side of the abolitionists?

4. The reason is obvious from the foregoing: The right of the master will not bear discussion.

5. How could the learned Judge possibly "see" this, when he had just admitted that the vengeance of the master was generally practised with impunity, "by reason of its privacy?" Could he certainly affirm that the "protection afforded by the several States," had produced any other effect than to render the vengeance of the masters more private? But how happens it that the very reason which the "executions of the community" come out in behalf of the victim of "excessive and brutal cruelty" is, that he is "unprotected?" Surely if slavery in practice were capable of any fair extenuation, so learned a Judge would not have fallen into such palpable contradictions.

6. At the very time when this decision was given, the blacks were increasing upon the whites. In 1820, there were a little more than 48 slaves in North Carolina, to every 100 white men; in 1830, there were fifty-two to every hundred.

7. Did the distinguished judge mean to have it understood that the doctrines of "moral rights," which he himself alluded to, were "false and fanatical?" Did he mean to warn his countrymen that a return to right would be a more appalling evil than perseverance in wrong?

SPIRIT OF SLAVERY.

From the Free Discussion.

Judicial Extraordinary.

MR. PROBT.—Last week I furnished you an account of the indignities to which I was subjected in Berlin, by authority of the Lynch code, and promised you some particulars of other outrages perpetrated under the garb of law, of a more reputable character.

It would seem that some of the citizens of Berlin had constituted themselves inquisitors general, and had decreed that no abolition should ever be admitted into the town. My presence, therefore, gave them great uneasiness, and the truths they expected me to utter still more. Hence I was, in the first instance, shut out of the school-house, next the whole weight of their influence was given to prevent the attendance of citizens upon my lecture, and finally their grand measures were adopted, which, it was supposed, would end all controversy—kidnapping, abduction, tar and feathers. These were equally ineffectual, for I was received, peacefully and practically, to assert my right, a right given me by God, and secured by the constitution of my country—freely to speak on all great questions of human truth and human duty, and especially I was resolved to assert this right in Berlin, because there it had been invaded, and because citizens were there who were unwilling to enquire of Esq. Colt, or of Dr. Hughes, or of their tools, the tarring and feathering gang, whom they might hear, and to what they might listen. I accordingly made an appointment for Sabbath, the 11th inst., when I proposed to deliver the lecture they had prevented by my abduction on the preceding Sabbath. Here was a new and unexpected emergency, and new expedients must be found to meet it.

An effort was first made to intimidate. It was rumored far and near, that the country and neighboring villages had been ransacked for the lawless, and that an attempt to lecture would be the signal for my death, and for other acts of horrid violence. And lest this should fail like their other efforts, a German, by the name of George Rippe, was induced on Saturday, the 10th inst., to go before W. Hartzell, Esq., and under the solemnities of an oath, make the following declaration, viz:

"That, according to the best of deponent's knowledge and belief, on or about the second day of June, [the day of my first lecture,] one Roberson, or a stranger, did disturb the peace of the citizens of Berlin, especially those near the centre; and he has now returned to repeat the same; and has provoked the citizens of Berlin to commit a breach of the peace."

These are, I believe, the literal words of the affidavit—the legal verbiage being omitted. On the authority of this oath, Esq. Hartzell issued a state's warrant for my arrest as a disturber of the peace. The constable came to the house of Jesse Garretson, at about 11 o'clock at night, and demanded admittance, that he might secure my person by authority of his warrant. After repeated assurances from Mr. G. that I was not there, he finally left. The house, however, was besieged nearly the whole night by a company of men, for some purpose, I know not what. Their place of rendezvous was the store of Edwards and Ripley. When I arrived at Berlin, at the hour of meeting on the Sabbath, I found the constable in readiness for my apprehension.

I however commenced the meeting and had spoken about three quarters of an hour, when he entered, read the warrant, and in great haste hurried me away from my audience, two miles and a half, where he said the magistrate and prosecuting witness were in waiting for my appearance. On our arrival at the magistrate's house, no one was found at home. A messenger was despatched for Esq. Hartzell, and after two hours delay, (time having been given for the dispersion of my audience,) he made his appearance. But just now his conscientious regard for the Sabbath became extreme, and he would do nothing; not even admit me to bail, but commanded the constable to keep me in custody till the next day at ten o'clock. The constable, however, permitted me to go at large on a pledge from two of my friends, David Hoover and Jacob Heaton, that I would appear next day at the hour and place of trial. Accordingly, next morning, in company with a number of friends, I repaired to the place appointed, when the pro-slavery junto of Berlin proceeded to enact one of the most ridiculous farces that ever disgraced the theatre of professed justice.

When the case was called, a motion was made for my discharge, on the ground that no crime was alleged against me. This motion was overruled, and the court proceeded to the examination of witnesses. There were six called: Michael Kroomrine, the man who is reported to have furnished feathers for my adornment on the night of the 3d inst.; James Davis, a young man of whom I know nothing, except that he was one of my abductors on the same occasion; Joseph H. Colt, Esq., Dr. James W. Hughes, Deacon Boyd and Joseph Edwards, whose store was the place of concourse on the evening of the mob, as well as on the night of Saturday, when the liars-in-wait were around the house of Mr. Garretson. These witnesses certainly present a fair representation of the advocates of slavery in our land—plebeian and patrician—civil and ecclesiastical. The following report of testimony is, of course, brief, but is made with all the accuracy and justice which my brief notes and my memory will permit.

Michael Kroomrine testified that he had heard the prisoner lecture at Jesse Garretson's, but was very imperfectly acquainted with the English language, and could not tell what was either the object or subject of his address, but heard him say in the course of it, that the people of Berlin were like young robins, who swallowed whatever the old ones put in the mouths.

James Davis testified that he had heard the prisoner lecture at Jesse Garretson's—He talked a mighty heap about the niggers—wanted them all free—had dared and bantered the people, by saying that all the tar and feathers in the world could not stop abolition—had talked as tho' he meant what he said—has occasioned some of the citizens to break the peace—said something about equities, doctors and young robins—couldn't exactly tell what has produced a great excitement in the people's minds.—Question—In whose minds? Answer—In Deacon Boyd's, Esq. Colt's, Dr. Hughes's and my own.

Joseph H. Colt, Esq., testified that he never saw the prisoner until he came into the court to-day. We were a remarkably peaceful, brotherly neighborhood, before he came among us, preaching his abominable doctrine. Now all is changed. Families divided—father against son—brother against brother—hired men were discharged.—There was a great excitement—could not repeat a word the prisoner had ever said—abolitionists believe a nigger woman is just as good as a white one—a nigger woman had been brought into the neighborhood last year—the women had to sleep up stairs, and keep their doors and windows nailed. Abolitionists wanted to dissolve the Union—he had heard Judge King say that he would go to the South, and fight for the niggers. Prisoner did not compel people to hear him, but there always will be an excitement to hear a new doctrine—believes that, according to the proper import of the law, prisoner has committed a breach of the peace.

Dr. James W. Hughes never heard the prisoner lecture. Never expects to condescend to hear an abolitionist. We were a remarkably peaceful and united neighborhood.—Prisoner has been the means of breaking up this state of things. Nothing but hard feelings has been the result of his lectures. Nineteen-twentieths of the people of the township are opposed to his doctrines.—I consider them unconstitutional,—am much opposed to southern slavery. [Prisoner here undertook to ask a question or two of Dr. Hughes, but was prevented on the ground that it was *interlocutory*.]

Joseph Edwards believes the prisoner has provoked the citizens of Berlin to commit a breach of the peace—never heard the prisoner lecture—was not at home at the time of the first lecture; and from his personal knowledge knows nothing of the matter, except that yesterday while at home he heard him speaking in Garretson's house. Deacon Boyd believed there had been a squabble, and much excitement, but had no great fears for future bad results—did not think it proper to lecture on the subject here—it was of no use—the people were not prepared—was opposed to mobs. [The witness here entered into a detail of particulars about his meeting some persons going home at night from an abolition meeting; also about a conversation he had with his son, who had been engaged in the mob.]

Here the testimony ended. As there had been nothing to criminate me, no testimony was called on my behalf. After a speech from a pettifogger, who had been employed for the occasion, marked with much scurrility and abuse of abolitionists, and containing much good advice to me, Martin Heckard made a few brief but pertinent remarks on the freedom of speech, as secured by the constitution of Ohio. I then commenced a speech in my own defence, and had proceeded ten or fifteen minutes, commenting on the testimony of Dr. Hughes, that abolition doctrines were unconstitutional, when Deacon Boyd interrupted me with the remark: "we have not come here to hear an abolition lecture." Others of the spectators concurred. Esq. Hartzell, who seemed most obsequiously to regard the wishes of his dictators, immediately applied the gag, and informed me I could not be permitted to proceed. Alexander Hubbard, a plain farmer of the neighborhood, succeeded me in an excellent speech of half an hour, in favor of the rights of American citizens; [abolitionists among the rest] to locomotion and free discussion; any where in our land, Berlin not excepted. After another abusive speech of half an hour, from the tool of the Berlin junto, the magis-

trate decided that there was no evidence against me, and I was released from custody.

Thus ended this mockery of law and justice, and this outrage upon my rights. The object of this prosecution was two-fold. First, to prevent the people from hearing on this subject, by committing me to the custody of the law during the hour of my lecture. It was the power of truth upon the minds of the honest-hearted, that they feared. Said one of my abductors to me, on the night of the mob, "You know that those who would believe all you say. We are determined there shall be no abolition in Berlin. The only way, therefore, is to carry you off." The second object was to give authority to the slanders they were propagating relative to the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists. It was doubtless thought, that if Deacon Boyd, Esq. Colt, and Dr. Hughes would swear that abolition was unconstitutional, violatory of the compact, &c., then of course every body must believe them, and abolition would get no footing.

In conclusion, I will simply remark, that these outrages have given an impulse to the cause of the poor in this region, which any efforts of mine never could have done. They have excited a spirit of inquiry, and have shown that the freedom of the North cannot be preserved, if slavery continue to exist at the South. I have since lectured in several places, to large, respectable, and attentive audiences. At Westville, at the close of my third lecture, a society of twenty-three members was organized.

Yours, MARIUS R. ROBINSON.

SPIRIT OF FREEDOM.

From the Emancipator.

Freedom's Ladder.

OR A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A SLAVE-HOLDER AND THE BIBLE.

Slaveholder. The colored race are inferior to the white, and the Bible justifies me in holding them in bondage. Bible. God hath made of one blood all nations of men. Acts xvii. 26.

S. My father left me them for a possession: am I wrong to retain my inheritance? B. Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers; for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres. Luke xi. 48.

S. But if I faithfully serve the Lord in other matters, may not this be considered a venial transgression? B. He that offendeth in one point is guilty of all. James ii. 10.

S. How should I feel in relation to their degraded state? B. Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. Hebrews xiii. 3.

S. But they are so fallen! How can they ever rise? B. I know that the Lord will maintain the cause of the afflicted: and the right of the poor. Psalm xl. 12.

S. Does the word of God inculcate principles of immediate emancipation?

B. Is not this the fact that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Isa. lviii.

S. But in the present state of affairs, my property certainly, and perhaps my life is in danger, if I do this. How shall I act?

B. If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small. If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those ready to be slain, &c. Proverbs xxiv. 10.

S. But if I am merciful to my slaves, and give them a comfortable subsistence, will not this suffice for their labor, without endeavoring to procure their disenthralment from bondage? B. Behold the hire of your laborers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have been entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath. James v. 4.

S. Is it my duty to vindicate their cause, on the score of immediate emancipation?

B. Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Prov. xxii. 9.

S. But the advocates for emancipation are so numerous, that my services therein are needless.

B. So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comfort; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comfort. Ecclesiastes iv. 1.

S. Did Christ inculcate such sentiments of rectitude?

B. Whatever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them. Matt. vii. 12.

S. Still I think that what so many good men have done for so many ages cannot be so very wrong.

B. The times of this ignorance, God winked at, but now he commandeth all men every where to repent.—Acts xvii. 30.

S. But suppose I free my slaves, others will not theirs; and while an hereditary prejudice keeps the nation in bondage, the few who are free will be worse off than before.

B. If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. Gen. iv. 7.

S. Well, I am persuaded that I ought to emancipate my slaves. Is there ought further I can do?

B. Open thy mouth, judge righteousness, and plead the cause of the poor and needy. Prov. xxxi. 9.

S. But can I not labor more effectually than merely by word of mouth?

B. Thus saith the Lord thy God: Feed the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty; and they that sell them say, blessed be the Lord, for I am rich; and their own shepherds pity them not.—Zech. xi. 45.

"Seek judgment; relieve the oppressed."

Rev. R. J. Breckinridge. We do not yet receive any reply from this clergyman to the queries we proposed to him in the Emancipator two or three weeks ago.

Nor do we see any report of his mission to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The following notice of this subject in the proceedings of the General Assembly, would seem to indicate some delay in the matter.—Emancipator.

"Dr. Beman inquired whether the Assembly's commissioner to the Congregational Union of England and Wales had made his report.

Mr. Breckinridge, in reply, said he hoped the gentleman himself, who had been his colleague, would state why he did not attend.

Dr. Beman replied that very peculiar circumstances in Providence had put it out of his power; but when he read the account of the visit of his colleague, he must say that he longed to have stood beside him; not however that he should have done any thing to help him out of the Thomsonian steam-bath."

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JULY 21, 1837.

Funds Again!

Again we must remind our friends, that we want money. Need we apologize? There are two classes from whom we expect remittances, subscribers, and those who have pledged certain amounts. We feel more delicacy in asking aid of the latter than the former. To subscribers, who have not paid, we say very good naturally, but very sincerely, *you ought to pay*. You receive our paper; we should receive your money. Methinks it will not be very hard to raise two dollars. Modesty must not blunt the edge of our application, when we turn to the pledged. We know the times are hard, but we know too, that when we tell you we must have help, you will deny yourselves for the sake of abolition. We wish our subscribers to pay us, that we may pay the printer. We wish pledges redeemed, that we may redeem our pledge to the parent society at New York, by paying their agents in Ohio. These agents are many of them unpaid as yet, but they will go unpaid, we are sure, no longer than it will take this to reach our friends, and their money to reach us. We deal thus plainly, because abolitionists love plain dealing, and prompt dealing too. We hope that the promptitude of response to this call, will save us the trouble of making it again.

PROSPECTUS.

Of the Unity and of the purity of the Morality contained in the two Testaments.

BY HEBEKIAH JOHNSON.

The author of this pamphlet would not have written it, had he not believed that the sentiment extensively prevails, that the morality of the two Testaments is opposite and contradictory, and that they sanction one of the worst systems of oppression that ever cursed the human race. He is sensible that the inspiration of the Bible cannot be maintained, if it contains an opposite, contradictory and impure code of morals. He believes that the two dispensations differ, that their laws differ, and yet, that they are not opposite and contradictory. He proves, first, that the morality of the two Testaments is one, and is pure; second, that they, nowhere sanction slavery. Subscribers for this pamphlet shall have, each, in proportion to what he subscribes, at cost price to give away, or sell, as he may think best. The cost of each pamphlet will probably be 10 or 12 1-2 cents.

Political Action.

We wish to note a few things concerning the late election for Congressman, in the Third Congressional District of Philadelphia. Last year Charles Naylor was beaten by the Democratic Candidate. This year he succeeded over Ingersoll by a majority of 251 votes. Naylor is a young man, comparatively inexperienced in public life. Ingersoll is his senior, familiar with the operations of public business, highly popular with his party, and a man of established claim to talent. Abolitionists in Philadelphia felt it their duty to vote with their eyes open. We are informed by the National Enquirer, that they became assured of Mr. Naylor's soundness on the great general principles of their enterprise, and from subsequent accounts it seems that they threw the weight of their influence in his scale. If they moved in this matter altogether, we have no doubt that Mr. Naylor owes his election to them. We should be glad, however, if friend Lundy had given us precise statements on this point; for it is important that all parties be convinced of the fixed determination of Abolitionists to sacrifice the ordinary attachments of party, for the sake of placing beyond all peril their vital rights which have been so shamelessly assailed by slaveholders and their minions. Let politicians fully believe that abolitionists will most surely use all their influence to put down a candidate, who will exert his influence to overthrow the fundamental principles of civil liberty, and it will not be long before our public councils shall be purged of that base and wicked spirit that would barter away the rights of the free states for slaveholding votes.

As to Mr. Naylor we knew him well several years ago, and have too much confidence in him to feel any apprehension about his future course in Congress, in relation to any of the great rights which have been threatened in the Capitol. He must be much changed, or else freedom will find in him a fearless, prompt and skilful advocate.

Texas.

If the slaveholders were wise, they would not urge the annexation of Texas; but they look only at present interest. They seem to imagine that from this act, good every way must result to the interests of the slave-system. Have they forgotten Cuba? Have they forgotten her perils to their welfare would be its possession by a Power under the control of an omnipotent public sentiment, that demands emancipation! A merely temporary agreement but no solemn treaty, secures to Spain the nominal sovereignty of this island. Let the grasping ambition of this nation lay hold of Texas, and Cuba will soon pass into other hands. What motive could withhold Great Britain from planting her standard in Cuba, and executing her schemes, which slaveholders abhor as disorganizing, and dangerous to their safety? The deputy Sanchez said in his speech, "if the United States should consent to the occupation of Cuba by Great Britain, it would be as if a merchant should give the key of his money chest to another person, and say, 'you are the master of that chest.'" Are the United States so bent on providing a slave market for dealers in human flesh, on enlarging the slave-territory and destroying the political power of the free states, as to abandon to the mercy of a foreign nation their commerce in the Gulf? If they seize Texas, they must either let Great Britain have Cuba, or go to war themselves for it. What a prospect does this open to us!—war with Mexico, war with Britain, and then all the horrors of an Indian and a servile war! Is the North ready to rush upon this ruin for the sake of giving stability to the slave-system, and securing a more profitable market for our southern brethren?

Mr. John Q. Adams's Speech on the Texian and Indian Wars, and on Slavery.

One year ago, we published the speech of this gentleman, on the "joint resolution from the Senate, authorizing the President of the United States, to cause rations to be distributed to suffering fugitives from Indian hostilities, in Alabama and Georgia." There is much more danger of a war with Mexico now, than there was then; there is much more probability of the annexation of Texas to our Union, now than there was then. Much more then, does it become us to weigh well the consequences to which these measures will almost certainly lead. We shall therefore, republish, as being peculiarly appropriate at this time, that part of Mr. Adams's speech, which relates to these points. It is far more striking and important than any thing we could give of our own. We have taken the liberty of breaking the extracts into distinct portions, so as to make it more agreeable to many readers, who might otherwise pass it by. It will richly reward an attentive perusal.

THE NATURE, PERILS, AND DISASTERS OF A WAR WITH MEXICO.

Texas is an extreme boundary portion of the Republic of Mexico; a wilderness inhabited only by Indians till after the revolution which separated Mexico from Spain; not sufficiently populous at the organization of the Mexican Confederacy to form a State by itself, and therefore united with Coahuila, where the greatest part of the indigenous part of the population reside. Sir, the history of all the emancipated Spanish American Colonies has been, ever since their separation from Spain, a history of convulsions; wars; of revolutions, accomplished by single, and often very insignificant battles; of chiefs, whose title to power has been the murder of their immediate predecessors. They have all partaken of the character of the first conquest of Mexico by Cortez, and of Peru by Pizarro, and this, sir, makes me shudder at the thought of connecting our destinies indissolubly with theirs. It may be that a new revolution in Mexico will follow upon this captivity or death of their President and commanding general; we have rumors, indeed, that such a revolution had happened even before his defeat; but I cannot yet see my way clear to the conclusion that either the independence of Texas, or the capture and military execution of Santa Anna, will save you from war with Mexico. Santa Anna was but one of a breed of which Spanish America for the last twenty-five years has been a teeming mother—soldiers of fortune, who, by the sword or the musket ball, have risen to supreme power, and by the sword or the musket ball have fallen from it. That breed is not extinct; the very last intelligence from Peru tells of one who has fallen there as Yturbe, and Mina, and Guerrero, and Santa Anna have fallen in Mexico. The same soil which produced them is yet fertile to produce others. They re-produce themselves, with nothing but a change of the name and of the man. Your war, sir, is to be a war of races—the Anglo-Saxon American pitted against the Moorish-Spanish Mexican American; a war between the northern and southern halves of North America; from Passamaquoddy to Panama. Are you prepared for such a war?

And again, I ask, what will be your cause in such a war? Aggression, conquest, and the re-establishment of slavery where it has been abolished. In that war, sir, the banners of freedom will be the banners of Mexico; and your banners, I blush to speak the word, will be the banners of slavery.

Sir, in considering these United States and the United Mexican States as mere masses of power coming to collision against each other, I cannot doubt that Mexico will be the greatest sufferer by the shock. The conquest of all Mexico would seem to be no improbable result of the conflict, especially if the war should extend no farther than the two mighty combatants. But will it be so confined? Mexico is clearly the weaker of the two powers; but she is not the least prepared for action. She has the more recent experience in war. She has the greatest number of veteran warriors; and although her highest chief has just suffered a fatal and ignominious defeat, yet that has happened often before to leaders of armies, confident of success and contemptuous of their enemy. Even now, Mexico is better prepared for a war of invasion upon you, than you are for a war of invasion upon her. There may be found a successor to Santa Anna, inflamed with the desire, not only of avenging his disaster, but what he and his nation will consider your perfidious hostility. The national spirit may go with him. He may not only turn the tables upon the Texian conquerors, but drive them for refuge within your borders, and pursue them into the heart of your own territories. Are you in a condition to resist him? Is the success of your whole army, and all your veteran generals, and all your militia-calls, and all your mutinous volunteers against a miserable band of five or six hundred invisible Seminole Indians, in your late campaign, an earnest of the energy and vigor with which you are ready to carry on that far otherwise formidable and complicated war?—complicated, did I say? And how complicated? Your Seminole war is already spreading to the Creeks, and in their march of desolation, they sweep along with them your negro slaves, and put arms into their hands to make common cause with them against you; and how far will it spread, sir, should a Mexican invader, with the torch of liberty in his hand, and the standard of freedom floating over his head, proclaiming emancipation to the slave, and revenge to the native Indian, as he goes, invade your soil? What will be the condition of your States of Louisiana, of Mississippi, of Alabama, of Arkansas, of Missouri, and of Georgia? Where will be your negroes? Where will be that combined and concentrated mass of Indian tribes whom, by an inconceivable policy, you have expelled from their widely distant habitations, to embody them within a compass on the very borders of Mexico, as if on purpose to give that country a nation of natural allies in their hostilities against you? Sir, you have a Mexican, an Indian and a negro war upon your hands, and you are plunging yourself into it blindfold; you are talking about acknowledging the independence of the Republic of Texas, and you are thirsting to annex Texas, say, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, and Santa Fe, from the source to the mouth of the Rio Bravo, to your already over-distended dominions. Five hundred thousand square miles of the territory of Mexico would not even now quench your burning thirst for aggrandizement.

POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

But will your foreign war for this be with Mexico alone? No, sir. As the weaker party, Mexico, when the contest shall have once begun, will look abroad, as well as among your negroes and your Indians, for assistance. Neither Great Britain nor France will suffer you to make such a conquest from Mexico; no, nor even to annex the independent State of Texas to your Confederation, without their interposition. You will have an Anglo-Saxon intertwined with a Mexican war to wage. Great Britain may have no serious objection to the independence of Texas, and may be willing enough to take her under her protection, as a barrier both against Mexico and against you. But, as aggrandizement to you, she will not readily suffer it; and, above all, she will not suffer you to acquire it by conquest and the re-establishment of slavery. Urged on by the irresistible, overwhelming torrent of public opinion, Great Britain has recently, at a cost of one hundred millions of dollars, which her people have joyfully paid, abolished slavery throughout all her colonies in the West Indies. After setting such an example, she will not—it is impossible that she should, stand by and witness a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it had been for years abolished, and situated thus in the immediate neighborhood of her islands. She will tell you, that if you must have Texas as a member of your Confederacy, it must be without the taint or the trammels of slavery; and if you will wage a war against you to break her chains, Sir, what a figure, in the eyes of mankind, would you make, in deadly conflict with Great Britain: she fighting the battles of emancipation, and you the battles of slavery; she the benefactress, and you the oppressor, of human kind! In such a war, the enthusiasm of emancipation, too, would unite vast numbers of her people in aid of the national victory, and all her natural jealousy against our aggrandizement. No war was ever so popular in England as that war would be against slavery, the slave trade, and the Anglo-Saxon descendant from her own loins.

ABSURDITY OF THE SCHEME OF ANNEXATION.

As to the annexation of Texas to your Confederation, for what do you want it? Are you not large and unwieldy enough already? Do not two millions of square miles cover surface enough for the insatiable rapacity of your land jobbers? I hope there are none of them within the sound of my voice. Have you not Indians enough to expel from the land of their father's sepulchres, and to exterminate? What, in a prudential and military point of view, would be the addition of Texas to your domain? It would be weakness, and not power. Is your Southern and South-western frontier not sufficiently extensive? Not sufficiently feeble? Not sufficiently defenceless? Why are you adding regiment after regiment of dragons to your standing army? Why are you struggling, by direction and induction, to raise *per saltem* that army from less than six, to more than twenty thousand men? Your commanding General now returns from his excursion to Florida, openly recommending the increase of your army to that number. Sir, the extension of your sea-coast frontier from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo would add to your weakness tenfold; for it is now only weakness with reference to Mexico. It would then be weakness with reference to Great Britain, to France, even perhaps to Russia, to every naval European power, which might make a quarrel with us for the sake of settling a colony; but above all, to Great Britain. She, by her naval power, and by her American colonies, holds the keys of the Gulf of Mexico. What would be the condition of your frontier from the mouth of the Mississippi to that of the Rio del Norte, in the event of a war with Great Britain? Sir, the reasons of Mr. Monroe for accepting the Sabine as the boundary, were three.

First, he had no confidence in the strength of our claim as to the Rio Bravo; secondly, he thought it would make our Union so heavy, that it would break into fragments by its own weight; thirdly, he thought it would protrude a long line of sea-coast, which, in our first war with Great Britain, she might take into her own possession, and which we should be able neither to defend nor to recover. At that time there was no question of slavery or of abolition involved in the controversy. The country belonged to Spain; it was a wilderness, and slavery was the established law of the land. There was then no project for carving out nine slave States, to hold eighteen seats in the other wing of this capitol, in the triangle between the mouths and the sources of the Mississippi and Bravo rivers. But what was our claim? Why, it was that La Salle, having discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, and France having made a settlement at New Orleans, France had a right to one half the sea-coast from the mouth of the Mississippi to the next Spanish settlement, which was Vera Cruz. The mouth of the Rio Bravo was about half way from the Balize to Vera Cruz; and so as grantees, from France of Louisiana, we claimed to the Rio del Norte, though the Spanish settlement of Santa Fe was at the head of that river. France, from whom we had received Louisiana, utterly disclaimed ever having even raised such a pretension. Still we made the best of the claim that we could, and finally yielded it to the Floridas, and for the line of the forty-second degree of latitude from the source of the Arkansas river to the South sea. Such was our claim; and you may judge how much confidence Mr. Monroe could have in its validity. The great object and desire of the country then, was to obtain the Floridas. It was General Jackson's desire; and in that conference with me to which I have heretofore alluded, and which it is said he does not recollect, he said to me that so long as the Florida rivers were not in our possession, there could be no safety for our whole southern country.

CONSEQUENCES OF ANNEXATION IN RELATION TO CUBA.

But sir, suppose you should annex Texas to these United States; another year would not pass before you would have to engage in a war for the conquest of the Island of Cuba. What is now the condition of that Island? Still under the nominal protection of Spain. And what is the condition of Spain herself? Consuming her own vitals in a civil war for the succession of the crown. Do you expect, that whatever may be the issue of that war, she can retain even the nominal possession of Cuba? After having lost all her continental colonies in North and South America, Cuba will stand in need of more efficient protection; and above all, the protection of a naval power. Suppose that naval power should be Great Britain. There is Cuba at your very door; and if you spread yourself along a naked coast, from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo, what will be your relative position towards Great Britain, with not only Jamaica, but Cuba, and Porto Rico in her hands, and abolition for the motto of their union cross of St. George and Saint Andrew? Mr. Chairman, do you think I am treading on fantastic grounds? Let me tell you a piece of history, not far remote. Sir, many years have not passed away since an internal revolution in Spain subjected that country and her king for a short time to the momentary government of the Cortes. That revolution was followed by another, by which, under the auspices of a French army with the Duke D'Angouleme at their head, Ferdinand the Seventh was restored to a despotic throne; Cuba had followed the fortunes of the Cortes when they were crowned with victory, and when the counter revolution came, the inhabitants of the island, uncertain what was to be their destination, were for some time in great perplexity what to do for themselves. Two considerable parties arose in the island, one of which was for placing it under the protection of Great Britain, and another for annexing it to the confederation of these United States. By one of these parties I have reason to believe that overtures were made to the Government of Great Britain. By the other I know that overtures were made to the Government of the United States. And I further know that secret, though irresponsible assurances were communicated to the then President of the United States, as coming from the French Government, that they were secretly informed that the British Government had determined to take possession of Cuba. Whether similar overtures were made to France herself, I do not undertake to say; but that Mr. George Canning, then the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was under no inconsiderable alarm, lest under the pupillage of the Duke D'Angouleme, Ferdinand the Seventh might commit to the commander of a French naval squadron the custody of the Moro Castle, is a circumstance also well known to me. It happened that just about that time, a French squadron of considerable force was fitted out and received sailing orders for the West Indies, without formal communication of the fact to the British Government; and that as soon as it was made known to him, he gave orders to the British Ambassador at Paris to demand in the most peremptory tone, what was the destination of that squadron, and a special and positive disclaimer that it was intended even to visit the Havana; and this was made the occasion of mutual explanations, by which Great Britain, France, and the United States, not by the formal solemnity of a treaty, but by the implied engagement of mutual assurances of intention, gave pledges of honor to each other, that neither of them should in the then condition of the island, take it, or the Moro Castle, as its citadel, from the possession of Spain. This engagement was on all sides faithfully performed; but without it, who doubts that from that day to this either of the three powers might have taken the island and held it in undisputed possession?

At this time circumstances have changed—popular revolutions both in France and Great Britain, have perhaps curbed the spirit of conquest in Great Britain, and France may have enough to do to govern her kingdom of Algiers. But Spain is again convulsed with a civil war for the succession to her crown; she has irretrievably lost all her colonies on both continents of America. It is impossible that she should hold much longer a shadow of dominion over the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, nor can those islands in their present condition, form independent nations, capable of protecting themselves. They must for ages remain at the mercy of Great Britain or of these United States, or of both; Great Britain is even now about to interfere in this war for the Spanish succession. If by the utter inability of the Mexican confederacy this revolt of Texas should lead immediately to its separation from that Republic, and its annexation to the United States, I believe it impossible that Great Britain should look on while this operation is performing with indifference. She will see that it must shake her own whole colonial power on this continent, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Caribbean Seas, like an earthquake; she will see, too, that it endangers her own abolition of slavery in her own colonies. A war for the restoration of slavery where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten her with imminent danger of a war of colors in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and of Porto Rico, by cession from Spain or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you in return, by what authority you have extended your sea-coast from the Sabine to Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing, namely: by what authority you will with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new manacles and fetters, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of man. She will carry emancipation and abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapors of oppression, and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the task masters.

SERIOUS QUESTIONS.

Mr. Chairman, are you ready for all these wars? A Mexican war! a war with Great Britain if not with France! a general Indian war! a servile war! and, as an inevitable consequence of them all, a civil war! For it must ultimately terminate in a war of colors as well as of races. And do you imagine that while with your eyes open you are wittingly kindling, and then closing your eyes and blindly rushing into them; do you imagine that while, in the very nature of things, your own Southern and South-western States must be the flanders of these complicated wars, the battle field upon which the last great conflict must be fought between slavery and emancipation; do you imagine that your Congress will have no constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery in any way in the States of this confederacy? Sir, they must, and will interfere with it—perhaps to sustain it by war; perhaps to abolish it by treaties of peace; and they will not only possess the constitutional power so to interfere, but they will be bound in duty to do it by the express provisions of the Constitution itself. From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of

Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way by which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the session of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.

Convention in 1838.

Abolitionists would do well to keep their eyes on the political movements of the day. We had hoped that the recent Whig Convention at Columbus would have given some decided expression of opinion with regard to the fundamental principles of civil government. The aspect of the times, the demands of slaveholders, the obvious difference of our nation to the great doctrine of human rights, and the assaults, multiplied, and in some instances ferocious, on the rights of the press, speech and conscience in this State,—had created a special exigency for that recurrence to fundamental principles which is enjoined by our Constitution. The Convention has met, and on these great "principles" has maintained perfect silence.

Let this be remembered by Abolitionists. Then let them attend to the following extract from the report adopted by the Convention. In reference to the overthrow of the present Administration, we have this language:

"All sections of the country must unite—all minor divisions must be laid aside—all personal prejudices must be given up. Among those who are resolved that there shall be reform, there must be 'a long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether.' The advocates of nullification and the supporters of the 'force bill' are a common interest in this matter. Both are equally prostrated in the existing order of things. The slaveholder and the Abolitionist, the Mason and the Anti-Mason are alike its victims. It is a common destroyer, and until it is driven from its strong holds, all are its victims or its satellites. To effect its destruction it must be attacked in its citadel. The rally must be made at the Presidential election of 1840, and the reform suffrage concentrated upon a single candidate for the Presidency, and a single candidate for the Vice Presidency. The agency, therefore, of a National Convention is necessary to secure this concentration,—and such a measure is, therefore, respectfully suggested."

These politicians have committed a radical blunder.—In the face of all facts and declarations, they have taken for granted, that with abolitionists and slaveholders the question of the continuance or overthrow of the system of American slavery is a "minor consideration." Need we tell them, that whatever compromise they may form with slaveholders, abolitionists can form none. If they had studied abolitionism as they ought—if they had looked into the character of abolitionists—if they had examined the system of slavery, its fatal effects on our welfare, the means alone by which it can live, the great object and real policy of slaveholders,—they could hardly have been so superficial as to imagine slavery a minor consideration; or so visionary as to suppose slaveholders and abolitionists could compromise their "minor divisions."

Sometime ago a distinguished editor gave his opinion, that we should "place Hugh L. White as strong in our support" as Harrison, Clay, or Webster. This seems to have been the opinion of the Convention. After several suggestions about a National Convention, they passed the following among other resolutions:—

"Resolved, That this Convention, though believing that their fellow-citizens of the State would prefer to select Wm. H. HARRISON, whose public services and qualifications of talents, experience, magnanimity, justice and patriotism they know and appreciate; yet they feel confidence in giving the assurance that should another person be selected, he be of the South, or of the middle, or of the North, he will be sustained in Ohio with all the power, zeal and energy, that would be employed in support of her own favorite fellow-citizen."

If, then, the South should insist, and a concentration of political forces can be effected in no other manner, a slaveholder, one who believes that the Declaration of Independence is a mere rhetorical flourish; that Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; that Texas, with its "eternal loss of slavery," should be admitted into our Union; that slavery is perfectly defensible on principles taught in nature and revelation—a slaveholder will be selected, and the Whig Convention "feels confidence in giving the assurance that he will be sustained in Ohio with all the power, zeal and energy that would be employed in the support of her own favorite fellow-citizen." Now we know not precisely how abolitionists feel towards Ohio's favorite fellow-citizen, (although at the right period they will doubtless express their feelings, in accordance with their abolition principles,) but we know that their "power, zeal and energy" will be most cheerfully exerted, not to sustain, but to defeat any such slaveholding candidate. It is not seemly at this age of our republic, that slaveholders or pro-slavery advocates should be the presiding officers of a people who annually proclaim that all men are created free and equal.

Happily contrasting with the spirit of this Convention, as also of the Republican members of the New York Legislature, (an extract from whose address we recently published,) are the following resolutions passed at the Democratic State Convention, holden in the city of Montpelier, Vermont, viz:—

"Resolved, That while the language and conduct of the party of power and privilege is that of the Pharisee who prayed—'God, I thank thee that I am not as other men, or even as this publican,' the party of popular rights should always aim, in their efforts for the maintenance of equal rights and republican freedom, to act upon the most sublime and beautiful, and democratic of all sentiments—'Love your neighbor as yourself; and do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you.'"

Resolved, That we, as Democrats, cannot justify slavery, either political or domestic; and that we look with confidence and hope to the day when the principles of the Declaration of Independence will be universally carried into practice, and all men in the United States be born free and equal.

Resolved, That while we concur with John Quincy Adams in the sentiment that every human being has the right of petition and prayer we necessarily disagree with the Hon. Wm. Slade, that it is wrong to do right in the exercise of that privilege.

Resolved, That while we deplore the moral evils of slavery, we cannot but recommend to our brethren of the North, that in all their expressions of sympathy for the sufferings, and in all their exertions for the liberation of the slave from servitude, they should not forget that the masters of the slaves are our political, constitutional brethren, and that all their labors should be tempered with wisdom and prudence and love.

Alluding to a sentiment in Mr. Slade's letter to the editors of the National Intelligencer, to the effect, that while the slaves have a right to petition, they ought not to exercise it.

Mr. Adams.

The Richmond Enquirer says,— "This eccentric politician continues to puzzle both friend and foe. No one can count with any sort of confidence upon his movements. No one can tell where to find him."

Mr. Adams is "eccentric" because he is individual. Such an one as the Enquirer cannot "count with any sort of confidence upon his movements," because Mr. Adams is moved by his own judgment. "No one can tell where to find him," simply because he is a free agent. Ordinary politicians are not free agents, but machines—the machines of party. They are not "eccentric," because they assiduously obey the will of party, as an ox obeys the "whip and goad" of its driver; and if you want to find them, all you have to do is, to ask party where they find them.

REPORT of the Second Anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, held in Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, April 27, 1837.

"This is a pamphlet of 67 pages—of which the Report of the Executive Committee fills nearly 40 pages. The Report speaks of the 'determined opposition of the churches in Cincinnati to the Anti-slavery cause.' Is this true? According to our notion, letting alone and 'determined opposition' mean different things. The pamphlet contains many things of general interest.—Cincinnati Cross and Journal.

The churches in Cincinnati have been opened to Missionary, Tract and Temperance meetings. Colonization agents have had the privilege of advocating in them the claims of Colonization. Their doors have been thrown open for the annual meetings of the College of Teachers. Fourth of July orators have held forth from their pulpits; and one of the most prominent of them was once devoted to the use of the society of Odd Fellows. Abolitionists—with characters unimpeachable; with objects confessedly noble; suffering under misrepresentation, slandered and persecuted, have asked these churches again and again to open their doors to them; that they might explain their views, and vindicate themselves from the aspersions of their enemies: they have asked that they might be heard in their defence. Again and again they have been denied this privilege. Churches have closed their doors; church-members have been among their most violent persecutors; and very few of them, we know, have ever taken the trouble to examine their principles or arguments. Will the Cross and Journal tell us this is not 'determined opposition'?" When Jesus went forth to work miracles and to preach the word, suppose the Scribes and Pharisees had closed their synagogues against him—kept themselves out of the reach of his voice—never permitted themselves to go near the scene of his miracles—excluded him from all access to them, would it not be proper to speak of "determined opposition" to the Messiah? Would the editor of the Cross and Journal be keen-sighted enough in this case to see any difference between "letting alone," and "determined opposition?" It is a shallow sophistry that would cover over the "determined opposition of the churches of Cincinnati to the anti-slavery cause," by the non-committal phraseology, "letting alone!" "Will you grant me a night's lodging in your house, sir?" "Why, sir, I am by no means opposed to your lodging with me, but I shall let you alone where you are." According to the traveller's notion, "letting alone and determined opposition," would not mean very "different things" in this case.

"Taunt from Europe."—We would inform our friend at New Richmond, that this has already appeared in most of the anti-slavery papers. It is an eloquent and a caustic "taunt;" but there is a time for every thing. We do not conceive that its publication is specially called for at the present time.

"Ohio Political Register."

Is the title of a new Whig paper recently established at Columbus. It is edited by W. D. and J. M. Gallagher, names which furnish a guaranty for the excellence of the paper.

National Convention.

The Evening Star, (New York, we presume,) in urging the expediency of a National Whig Convention, discourses in the following strain:—

"We hope, and earnestly entreat, that the first movement for this object may be made in the South—they have not only the common interests of the country at stake; but a deep local interest which is to be protected by some settled mutual action, through the medium of a convention of the people; and whoever may be selected to take the lead in this mighty conservative movement, whatever may have been the sectional and political prejudices against him, should be sustained by all who are opposed to the reign of corruption and despotism—to accomplish which it becomes necessary to determine upon the great line of public policy which shall mark the course of the supporters of free government."

"We are in the midst of a revolution"—a National Convention may determine it peaceably.

One of the great objects then, of the Convention, ought to be to protect the deep local interest of the South—to abolish abolitionism and to uphold slavery! What say our Whig Editors to this! What say abolitionists to this! Abolitionists were caught napping when Arkansas was admitted. Henceforth let them be sleepless! Ed. Phil.

Admission of Texas.

There is danger that Texas will be admitted. Hundreds in this city, we know, are lulling themselves with the hope that there is too much intelligence, too much good policy in the north ever to allow it. They are deceived, and may yet find it so to their cost. There is a certain class among us, and that not a small one, who reckon the national power and glory, by the number of square miles in our territory. They are the glory men. Justice and good policy are to them unmeaning terms. "All such go in for the annexation of Texas. In this city, we happen to know particularly, that the desire for the admission of this country is so intense and general in many places, as to bring down the utmost scorn and contumely on individuals soliciting names to the Texian protests.

Again, the coming Presidential contest will be one of the hardest perhaps ever witnessed in this country. From both parties we have learned that the paramount question is, who shall be the greater; and both parties have given demonstrations that they are willing to go almost any length in conciliating the favor of the South. The present chief executive is said to be in favor of the admission of Texas; and on the other hand, whig editors and whig conventions tell us that slavery, Texas, &c. are "minor considerations." Now, let it be remembered, that party spirit is as active in Congress as amongst the people, and that great questions there are perhaps as frequently decided on party grounds, as on principles regarding the welfare of the whole country. And is there nothing to fear? Have those easy souls, who are always meeting us with the exclamation, "O, it won't be admitted," lost sight of the activity of party-spirit, the depth of party-corruption, and of the workings of that machinery of menace and bribery, which slaveholders know so well how to put in operation, to frighten the timid, and draw over partisans to the support of measures necessary to the welfare of their peculiar institutions? If the South ever vote for a presidential candidate from the North, she must have an equivalent. An equivalent she has got—the pledge of Mr. Van Buren to uphold slavery in the District, and probably his determination to give his support to the efforts to make Texas a part of us. If ever the Northern whigs can persuade the South to concentrate upon a northern candidate, the equivalent must be forthcoming. The equivalent will be, their consent to receive Texas into the Union. It may not be required that they shall be active in this measure, but then they must be at dinner, or asleep, or out of the way. Unless the American people wake up and make their servants know, that the interests of the country, and not party, are to rule, we greatly fear that next session of Congress will mark the beginning of the downfall of this republic by the annexation of Texas.

Right of Trial by Jury.—Repeal of Obnoxious Laws, &c.

We are glad to see abolitionists in Ohio, beginning to direct more attention to these topics. Every where throughout the State, the most vigorous efforts should be made favorably to influence public sentiment and to prepare the way for procuring such a number of names to petitions on these subjects, as shall convince our Legislature of the propriety of repealing the discriminatory laws concerning people of color, and securing to all the benefit of a Jury trial.

At the third anniversary of the Lorain County Anti-Slavery Society, held July 4th, the following excellent resolutions were passed:

By the Rev. I. M. Tracy—

Whereas, by the Constitution of Ohio, it is classed among "the great and essential principles of liberty and free government," that the right of trial by jury shall be inviolable; and whereas, it is a universal practice in this State, to deliver up its inhabitants into slavery, upon the sole testimony of an interested claimant, without such Jury trial, therefore,

Resolved, That such practice, under whatever pretended authority followed, is contrary to the genius of our Government, and should immediately be abandoned.

By P. Bliss, Resolved, That the Legislatures of Massachusetts and New Jersey, by the recent enactment of laws to secure a trial by jury to every inhabitant of those States who may be claimed as a slave, have shown their attachment to the principles of the American Revolution, and furnished an example soon to be followed by every free State.

By F. Bliss, Resolved, That the laws of Ohio, relating to "free people of color," are contrary to the letter and spirit of our State Constitution—a disgrace to a civilized community, and ought to be immediately abolished.

Such resolutions should be passed by all our Societies. They would greatly tend to draw attention to the important matters embraced in them.

Another resolution passed is worthy of record:—

By Nathan P. Johnson, Resolved, That the efforts of the Hon. John Q. Adams on the floor of Congress, in defence of the sacred right of petition, entitle him to the lasting gratitude of all who regard the liberties of mankind, or the welfare of their country.

The officers of the Society for the ensuing year, are:—President—Daniel W. Lathrop. Vice President—Dr. Richard Howard. Cor. Secretary—John Monteth. Recording Secretary—Wm. M. Beebe. Treasurer—R. Reddington.

New Society.—Windsor Anti-Slavery Society, Morgan County, No. 19. President, T. C. Keyes; Secretary, D. B. Keyes.

Medina County Anti-Slavery Society.—At the annual meeting of this society in Weymouth, July 4th, one of the resolutions passed, was as follows:—

By Mr. Olcott:

Resolved, That the Republic of Hayti has clearly had the right by the law of nations, to a recognition of its independence from the other nations of the earth, ever since it established that character in 1804; and that the prejudices which have prevented such recognition, are not only unwarrantable and unjust, but impolitic, mean, and disgraceful.

This is right. Let us search out every ramification of the spirit of slavery. Wherever we see the offspring of the monster, there let us strike. Universal and eternal war, not against slaveholders, but slavery: this should be our motto.

The officers of this society for the ensuing year, are:—James Stiles, President. Uriah M. Chappell, Samuel Curtis, Vice Presidents. Timothy Hudson, Secretary. Nathan Nettleton, Treasurer.

Southern Method of treating Claims to Liberty.—The two following items are from the New Orleans True American:

"Detained, in the police prison of the 2d Municipality a negro woman named LOUISA, aged about 17: says she is free. The owner will comply with the law and take her away. H. S. HARPER, Captain of the Watch."

"Was brought to the police prison of the second Municipality, a mulatto man named JOHN GRAY, aged about 35 years: says he is free. The owner will prove property, pay charges, and take him away. H. S. HARPER, Captain of the Watch."

Answer to the Slaveholders' Demands.

Our readers have not forgotten the insolent demands made by Slaveholders of Northern Legislatures, for the suppression of freedom of Speech and of the Press. With the response of those Legislatures we are not now so particularly concerned as with the response of the free people of the North. It may be found in the subjoined toasts, clipped from accounts in our exchange papers of the late celebration of the National Anniversary.

FITZMAURICE, OHIO.

By D. L. Webb, Freedom of thought, freedom of opinion, and freedom of the press. Let every freeman resist any attempt to circumscribe either of these unalienable rights.

CANTON, OHIO.

Celebration by the Citizens. By Joshua Saxton. African Slavery: The darkest blot in the escutcheon of our national glory. May it be "expunged" by the concentrated force of public opinion.

By J. Matthias. Freedom of Speech, and liberty of the Press: the main pillars of our liberty. May they never cease to exist.

HARRISON CO., CADIZ, OHIO.

Whig Celebration.

By John G. McCullough. Freedom of Speech and of the Press; the right of petition, with a just regard to all natural and inherent rights, the inculcation of correct moral and virtuous principles, (regardless of popular prejudice in favor of grades or shades,) the only palladium of our liberties.

MERCER CO., ST. MART'S, OHIO.

11th. The freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press: the greatest safeguards of equal rights and equal liberty. 1 gun, 3 cheers.

By R. P. Schroeder, (a German.) The freedom of the speech and the freedom of the press, the basis of American liberty.

MEDINA CO., OHIO.

Anti-Slavery Celebration. Resolved, That on this anniversary of our national independence, we renew our pledge ourselves to defend the doctrine of true liberty, as set forth in our political constitution, and not to cease to plead for those sacred principles of freedom, which our bill of rights affirms to be equally inherent in every human being, viz: "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

HARRISON CO., CADIZ, OHIO.

Mechanics' Celebration. 8th. The three Grand Pillars of the Temple of Liberty—Freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, while these pillars stand firm, the superstructure cannot fall.

HAMILTON CO., OHIO: MT. PLEASANT.

A General Celebration. 7th. Intemperance, Slavery, Licentiousness.—A threefold curse. 1. Lay public sentiment, like an irresistible beam, sweep them from our land.

(Rather an unfortunate juxtaposition for our southern brethren's commerce. Ed. Phil.)

14th. Moral slavery.—A horrible monster: may legitimate authority crush it in infamy.

MADISON, HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO.

General Celebration.

(David T. Disney, a member of the celebrated market-house committee, orator of the day.)

By A. B. Perlee. The immense Temple of American Liberty.—May it stand a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary to the rights of mankind! May these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come, rejoice the happy souls of its founders.

By Mr. Debolt. Our Country and its Laws.—May freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and freedom of the press, ever remain sacred and inviolable. Then will our happy republic continue to rise in the majesty and strength of its greatness, and all future generations reiterate, "We are blest!"

By C. T. Jones. The Press.—Conducted with talent and integrity, it "holds the check reins of the chariot of despotism." Its freedom is inseparable from the rights of man.

By David Clark. May the flag of liberty forever wave over the relics of tyranny and despotism.

By C. Leaming. May the land of America continue to be the asylum of the oppressed, and the oppressed go free of every shade.

WESTCHESTER, N. Y.

Sent in by Caleb Rocco. The Declaration of American Independence.—Its Heaven-derived doctrines, imperishable in their character, and illimitable in their terms, embrace the whole human race. May its principles and its pathos continue as this day to expand the heart, and inspire the spirit of the patriots of our own, and every other land, until their benign benefits shall compass the earth, and fill the world with philanthropists and freemen. 3 cheers, 1 gun.

By John Leggett, Jr. American liberty—Freedom of opinion, freedom of industry, and freedom of conscience.

CARLISLE, PA.

Celebration by all Parties.

Freedom of discussion on any and every subject, and responsibility to the laws—the vital principle of republican government—men who cannot cherish and appreciate these principles are only fit to be slaves—fit for the government of the bayonet.

CONNEAUTVILLE, PA.

Temperance Celebration.

Alcohol and Slavery—Combined to degrade the sons of liberty. May the free people of our country unite their influence in banishing them from amongst us. Then we may boast of freedom in reality.

The present Generation.—May it banish Intemperance and Slavery from our land, that the rising generation may inhale our liberty in its purest atmosphere.

By Wm. S. Crozin. Our Union.—Too firm and unshaken to be moved by the mere abolition of slavery.

INCENDIARISM IN KENTUCKY.

We subjoin a toast recently given at a 4th of July celebration at Maxwell's Springs, Kentucky. Ed. Phil.

By Capt. Samuel Fitch.—The Tree of Liberty: planted by the patriots of '76, manured by their blood, nourished by their offspring; may it take deep root in our soil, overshadow the nations of the world, and emancipate the sons of men!

[What percentage have slaves? Ed. Phil.]

The three following were presented to the Toast Committee by one of its members, but at the celebration were said to have been lost. The editor of the Lexington Intelligencer remarks, that they were probably considered "too good for preservation!"

Education.—Like the solar heat, it makes beautiful and valuable, the otherwise inert elements on which its vivifying influence is exerted: may it speedily permeate every American mind.

The American Revolution.—The beacon-light of nations! In their pristine purity, may its fires glow till tyranny can find on earth no dark den unvisited by their regenerating effluence.

Science.—Inconsistent with mental subjugation! The nation that does not cherish it in all her borders, deserves that political slavery, against which it is the surest safeguard.

Such toasts were very conveniently "lost" by slaveholders. The following toast must have crept in "when men slept:"

"The cause of human Liberty.—Tyrants quail under its influence; its course is upwards and onwards, until the whole world bows to its supremacy, and every altar of slavery is crumbled into the dust."

A true abolition toast.

At another celebration, in Jessamine county, this toast was given:—

The Oppressed of all Nations.—We hail them success in their struggles for virtuous liberty.

Do they mean to "hail" the "oppressed" of this nation? What a strange set of people we republicans be!

The Presbyterian Church and Slavery.

"A Member of the Assembly" asked us last week whether it was not strange that "all the leaders (to say nothing of the rest) some of whom are men of the utmost candor and fearlessness,—men, who in private and public have spoken freely every where on all these subjects, and have never kept them buried in the dark recesses of their hearts—that they should all conspire solemnly to perjure grave and important resolutions for the eyes of the church and the world, and support them with reasons that are mere pretences, or altogether secondary, while they conceal the true ground and reason of the whole?"

It is not our intention to open the discussion of this matter again, but we would wish to state a single fact, that has come to our knowledge since our last number.

Dr. Baxter, head of the Virginia Theological School, was President of the Reform Convention in Philadelphia, and a leader in the great work of exorcism. In the Southern Religious Telegraph of July 8th, is published an address of his to the students of the seminary, defending the acts of the Assembly. After arguing the constitutional question, he passes to the consideration of three great advantages resulting from the act of exorcism. These advantages it is obvious, from the manner in which he names them, must have been the leading motives to the act. A prominent one is discussed on as follows:—

"Another advantage of the course pursued, if it be sustained and carried out by the churches, is, that it will put an end to the Abolition question and disturbance in the Presbyterian church. I always had the impression that the abolition spirit must be principally in the New School, and that the good old Presbyterians, with whom I had been acquainted, could not be carried away with that fanatical system. One motive with me for going into the Convention, was to feel the pulse of our Northern friends on that subject, and on this point I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectation. I found our Northern friends reasonable and prudent on the subject of slavery, and we conversed about it in the style of former times, before the fanaticism of abolition had infected the public mind. In the Convention there were 124 members, upwards of one hundred were members of the Assembly, and among these there were two abolitionists. They were from the Presbytery of Chillicothe, and they professed to be very moderate."

In the Assembly, with the exception of those Chillicothe members, I do not believe that there was a single abolitionist among the orthodox, whilst nearly the whole of the New School were of that description. Vast bundles of petitions and memorials were sent to the Assembly from the New School churches, some of them, as we were told, were signed by 500 ladies. All these papers were handed over to the committee of bills and overtures, by whom they were SUPPRESSED, as soon as their subject was known, without reading. Dr. Beman, who was a member of that committee, used his privilege of appealing to the house, and brought up the question whether those papers should or should not be read in the Assembly. At this time, our only orthodox abolitionist had left the house, and on the trial of the question every orthodox vote was against the reading, and every New School

vote in favor of it; with the exception of a few men, who lived in a slave-holding country.

During the meeting of the General Assembly frequent abolition meetings were held in Philadelphia. I was gratified to learn that no church could be obtained for their purpose, excepting the Universalist church. At these meetings most of the leading members of the N. School delivered addresses; but I believe none of the orthodox attended. A clergyman of my acquaintance, in whose veracity I have the highest confidence, told me that he had lately travelled through most of the synods declared to be out of the Assembly, and that he found them to be more hot-beds of abolition; that he seldom heard a family prayer or a grace before meat, which did not contain some abolition petitions. From these facts, and from others which I could mention, I have no doubt that if the acts of the General Assembly should be properly sustained, and the separation begun should be carried out, the Presbyterian Church, by getting clear of the New School, will at the same time get clear of abolition."

☞ We are grateful to our friend B——, in Philadelphia for his thoughtfulness.

A BEACON LIGHT FOR LOUISIANA SLAVES.

The New Orleans True American thus commences a paragraph:

"The Glorious Fourth!—At day-break this morning the thunder of artillery announced the glorious day that gave freedom to millions, and lit a beacon of hope for all the enslaved of the world."

On the same page we have three advertisements of negroes, detained in the police prison, asserting their freedom. Nevertheless each advertisement concludes on this wise: "The owner will prove property, pay charges, and take away." What a beacon of hope to the enslaved, is our "glorious fourth!"

Voice from the South.—The editor of the Charleston Observer says—

"On examining the votes of the General Assembly, there is a much nearer approximation to a geographical division between the majority and the minority, than we could have anticipated. The synod of Albany, and the synod westward, including Missouri, were chiefly on one side; while four-fifths of the members south of that line, were on the other, which composed the majority of the Assembly."

From the Emancipator.

A friend has handed us the following, which is better than anything of ours, just at this time:

Plan of Raising Funds.

To Anti-Slavery Societies:

In order to raise ample funds to sustain and extend Anti-Slavery efforts, it is earnestly recommended that a penny week society, upon the plan most successfully adopted by benevolent institutions in England, be formed forthwith throughout the free States. A few remarks in elucidation of the subject, are respectfully submitted.

1. THE OBJECT.—This is simply to get every individual friendly to a good cause, to give something steadily and regularly towards its support. As all are to be included as contributors, the amount asked for must be within the reach of all. In England, one penny per week was fixed upon; we may therefore safely ask ONE CENT here. Let all who love and have espoused our cause, give this; and where God has given riches, let the stewards thereof put their tens, hundreds, or thousands of dollars in addition.

2. THE ORGANIZATION.—The penny societies in England are conducted by women; principally by the young and unmarried. Each association is usually connected with a church. Females willing to become collectors are invited to meet and organize; which they do, by electing from among themselves a treasurer, secretary or secretaries, a board of managers, and a list of collectors. The association meets at a convenient place (usually the Church, or some room connected with it) the first Monday in each month, to report progress and pay in receipts, with the names of contributors, to the treasurer. Each collector is required to procure at least six subscribers. Many procure from one to two hundred. They never ask or receive more than one penny per week. Any sum over that amount, are handed in separately, and recorded as donations. All accounts and proceedings are carefully registered in suitable books, by the secretaries.

3. MODE OF COLLECTION.—This is by the personal application of the collectors. Their own families, the attendants at their own churches, and their immediate personal connections, usually furnish as large a list as the generality of persons can collect from. Ladies sometimes take an entire town or parish, and solicit from door to door. They are furnished with cards, upon which they enter the names of contributors. They usually collect once a month, as more convenient than every week; and furnish to each subscriber, monthly or quarterly, as the case may be, a paper called "an abstract," containing a condensed statement of the proceedings of the society, on whose account the collection is made, which has a very happy influence, by diffusing information and keeping an interest alive.

4. THEIR GENERAL EFFECTS.—In every point of view, these associations are most efficient and beneficial. At least \$400,000 are thus raised annually in England, for religious and benevolent objects. Such associations form a perennial spring both of sanctified wealth and of holy influence; on the one hand, filling the treasures of benevolence, and on the other, replenishing its ranks with well trained and devoted agents. In England it is now almost a matter of course, in religious families, to enrol each child as a subscriber to one or more of these penny week societies, from the day of its birth; so that the habit of giving to God the "first fruit," becomes familiar to the rising generation; and the collection of these "first fruits" habituates a vast number of young persons to a course of active benevolence.

It appears that 110,000 persons were sufficiently interested in the Anti-Slavery cause to sign our petition to Congress last session, it is not unreasonable to suppose that all those persons would have given a cent per week to the cause. Nor can it be doubted that each signer had, on the average, at least one child, or intimate connection, who might have been induced to contribute the same.—Here, then, would have been \$110,000 for our glorious cause. In view of these facts, let us not overlook or despise "small things," nor lose a moment in organizing societies throughout the land, to "gather up the fragments, that nothing may be lost."

New York, May 19, 1837.

POEMS written during the Progress of the Abolition Question in the United States, between the years 1830 and 1833, by JOHN G. WHITTIER. Boston, Isaac Knapp, 1837.

Never did the muse lend her entrancing art to a nobler cause than that which has engaged the muse of Whittier. A work like the one before us challenges the reader's admiration for the man as well as for the poet. The editor who has gathered the fugitive pieces contained in this little volume, and given them their present enduring form, compares Whittier to Korner. There is some resemblance, truly, between the soldier-poet of Germany and the Quaker poet of America; but it is a resemblance only in the kindred heroism of their spirit; not in the mode of warfare adopted for the accomplishment of their several objects; for the strife waged by one was the strife of blood, while that by which the other seeks to achieve a more glorious victory is the strife of peaceful opinion.

Of the true poetic enthusiasm which animates the author of these productions, and the spirit and energy of thought and expression which marks most of these fine lyrics, we can afford room only for a single specimen.

[Plain Dealer.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

The True and only Guard for Liberty.

Meas. Editor:

What is a democracy? The common answer is, that it is a Government of the People. Mr. Paine represents a republican government in its origin, as one of the simplest things in all nature. The people, when few in number, can meet together under some accommodating shade-tree, and make laws for themselves, and the thing will be accomplished. When they become too numerous to assemble

en masse, they have only to send their representatives to act for them; and the government is carried on without any perplexity whatever.

But suppose the people should differ in opinion, what then must be done? Why, the majority, of course, must govern. But how must they govern? Exactly as they please. They must make their laws, and appoint their officers and judges, without any restriction, seeing they are not subject to the control of any superior authority.—The will of this majority, is the supreme will, and there is no other sovereignty in the universe. Then it follows that in the formation of a democratic government, all individuals resign their life, their liberty and their happiness to the unrestricted control of this sovereign will. How differs this from resigning these personal rights to the sovereign will of a King or an Emperor? If life or liberty be taken away by one man, or by an associated body of men, will not the loss and the injury be exactly the same? Have a sovereign majority any better claim to this despotism, than a sovereign Emperor? If they have, how is their claim substantiated? From whence will they derive their proof? Will the majority say that their right thus to govern, is derived from the consent of all the people? Then, if all the people would consent to give the governing power into the hands of an individual king, his right would be as good as theirs, and would be established upon the same foundation. From this, it would appear, that a free government is to be formed by individuals first giving up their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that this is as essential to the formation of a democratic government, as to that of a monarchy. If so, all the security personal liberty can have, is the assumed goodness of the ruling power. It is said in one country, that the king can do no wrong; and in another, that the majority can do no wrong; and on the strength of these pretensions must every man rest his essential right to all the comfort and felicity of his existence.

The government of our country is very differently constructed. It first recognizes the supreme authority of the "Creator," as "endowing every man with inalienable rights;" secondly, when a bill is passed by the House of Representatives, it cannot become a law without the consent of the Senate, which is a distinct body, and appointed in a different way, as representing the several States; thirdly, after a bill has passed both Houses, it still requires the approval of the President, before it can become a law; fourthly, a body of judges who hold their office for life, have the prerogative to decide upon the constitutionality of the law, and if they judge it unconstitutional, it becomes a nullity. When a law is established according to this complex process, all the people are bound to obey it, and they have no authority to alter or repeal it, except by the same process through which it was at first enacted. Why is it necessary for government to be thus complex and intricate? In order that needful guards and checks may be placed every where, against the abuse of power. And why are such guards necessary? Because of the deplorable tendency there is in the heart of every man to become a tyrant.

Paine spurns the idea that the people need any checks upon their power; for what occasion have they, he inquires, to put a check upon themselves? Now, this is either the result of great ignorance, or of great hypocrisy; for he and all democrats when they speak of a people governing themselves, mean the government of a majority. Then certainly those of the minority do not govern themselves, but are governed by others, against their will. And must they have no guards and checks provided in the government, to secure their essential rights against the action of the ruling power, under the proud pretension, that a democratic majority can do no wrong? Nonsense.

Every man of common sense in the nation, who is acquainted with the Constitution of the United States, knows that our civil government is not a democracy. Then what are we to understand by "the democracy of the country," of which we hear so much? Are we to understand that the party claiming this distinctive appellation, are laboring to overturn the Constitution of the United States, in order that a simple democracy may take its place upon Mr. Paine's principles?

This charming word democracy can achieve more among the multitude, than a thousand conclusive arguments: all political leaders are aware of its importance to their success; hence the ruling party hold on to it with great tenacity, and hence their opponents are aiming to steal it away from them, by calling their Convention Columbus, "the Democratic Whig Convention."

When is it that all orders of society are so unanimously pleased with this word? Do they understand it? Not exactly; but they think it means that the sovereign people have a primary and original authority above all compacts and all constitutions, or in other words, that mob law is, and ought to be, the supreme law of the land.

In France, this plan of government was carried fully into operation. God's existence was denied, a future state of accountability was turned into ridicule, and the people were left free to exercise their sovereign power, without any control or restriction. For a considerable time, Robespierre was at the head of the democratic majority during whose administration terror reigned, and the blood of the minority was poured forth like water. Afterwards, another faction gaining the ascendancy, Robespierre himself fell into the minority, and in consequence, lost his head. All had a right to vote, and there were great struggles and intrigues among the different parties for the predominance; one after another succeeded in obtaining a majority of votes, and each was ready, when it got into the seat of popular sovereignty, to punish opponents with imprisonment and death, without intermission, and without mercy, until it was put down by another party, succeeding in their efforts to become the majority. There were no personal rights secured by constitutional law; no God acknowledged; no divine authority to restrain them; no responsibility. A majority governed as they pleased, and claimed an undoubted right so to do, because this was exercising the pure sovereignty of the people. Let it be carefully observed and well remembered, that the government carried on through the French Revolution, was an unfixated and perfect government of democracy. If "the democracy of the country," and "the great democratic party" amongst us, are wishing to bring about such a state of things in North America, it is high time that all the community should know it, in order either to prevent it, or otherwise to prepare themselves for the coming storm.

For our own part, we believe the heresy is pretty equally shared between the parties.—Ed. Phil.

Let the Constitution be removed out of the way; let the dominant party be so well organized as to be able to keep themselves in the majority; let the majority have full power to reward its friends and to punish its enemies; let it humble and intimidate the minority, by making laws to silence the press,—to silence speech,—to take the liberty and the life of opponents at pleasure,—and we shall have a government of pure democracy! The sovereignty of the people, in such a government, means nothing more nor less than the despotism of a dominant party, who, by the corrupt arts of intrigue and intimidation, can keep themselves in absolute power, and can keep all others in a state of abject slavery at their feet. A high claim of free principles is sounded through the land to deceive; and the str-

tagem is successful; for infatuated thousands eagerly lay hold of it as pure democratic liberty!

This incubus, Messrs. Editors, I firmly believe, is a great evil, and now threatens more heart-rending calamities to mankind, than even the great evil of Southern slavery. It is true, they are closely associated; for in any State where slavery is established by law, the government of that State is simply this:—the strong party make all the laws, both for themselves and for the weak party: for themselves they make laws to secure their authority; for the weak party they make laws to rivet the chains of their slavery; no personal rights are secured to the latter, by constitutional provisions; but the sovereignty of their rulers is absolute and unrestricted; just as a simple democracy would be among white men, if no personal rights were secured by a constitution. It appears, therefore, that the government of a slave State over slaves, is near of kin to a simple democracy. Hence, Southern masters have, for half a century, been considered, or have regarded themselves, as the best republicans and the purest democrats.

The only difference between their government over slaves, and that of a simple democracy, is that the latter allows all the citizens to vote. This makes it barely possible for men to obtain their liberty by succeeding to change the majority, and to bring the power into other hands; but while they are in the minority, if no personal rights are secured by constitutional law, they are as perfect slaves as any black men of the South. A dominant party, moreover, unrestrained by constitutional law, could manage to keep themselves in perpetual power, notwithstanding the minority have the privilege of voting; or if not, the result would only be the succession of one party after another, exercising the authority as they did in the French Revolution. These parties might mutually take vengeance upon each other; but while in the minority, no man's liberty or life would be secure for a single hour. Therefore, let us look to what point of the compass we may, we find that a simple democracy, without a constitution to control the legislature, is as absolutely inconsistent with the rights of mankind, and with the essential liberty of the world, as any aristocracy or monarchy that ever existed.

JUNIUS.

Republican Gratitude.

In the town of Bloomfield, Jefferson county, there lives a gray-haired man of ninety years, worn down by age, privation, and toil. A minister of religion, he has labored to preach the gospel to those around him. In his youth, a hero of the revolution—he served during the entire war—was present at Quebec, when the brave Montgomery fell—was a participant in the toils and dangers of the battle of York-town, and with the notes of his spirit-stirring drum assembled the American army to witness the surrender of the sword of Cornwallis. Washington and Lafayette, Greene and Montgomery, have been more than satisfied for their participation in this revolutionary strife of blood, while the humble, but true-hearted man of whom I write, has purchased for himself by his heroic efforts only ignominy, reproach and scorn.

Passing over the history of his earlier life, which has been cheered by no solitary ray of national gratitude, I will speak of facts of a recent occurrence. In his state of present helplessness, the old man is entirely dependent for support on the labor of a son, who has besides a considerable family on his hands. Last spring death visited this family and took from them a child. Mr. Isaac Hill, made the coffin in which it was interred. For this service, the father had no means of compensation except his own labor. This he cheerfully undertook to render. For giving employment under these circumstances, to this poor man, Mr. Hill has been arrested, tried and condemned as a criminal, under authority of a law of the State of Ohio, and subjected to a fine of one dollar and costs of suit! Another citizen of Bloomfield, Mr. George Orr, has also been fined in the sum of fifty dollars for employing this same man, and thus furnishing him the means of support for his aged father and helpless children. Nor is this all. Every night, this family lies down in terror, lest the threats of some of their neighbors be executed before morning—their house demolished and their persons subjected to insult and violence.

Reader, do you feel the burnings of indignation against those who thus outrage humanity in the person and family of a patriot of the revolution? Be appeased, for one moment, I intreat you, while I declare the cause which while it would be no justification for an American savage or a New-Zealand cannibal is nevertheless a good and full apology when pled in behalf of American republicans. Old Pompey Lane, the patriot hero of '76, IS A COLORED MAN!

Fellow Citizens of Ohio, let us arise and call upon our legislature, as with one voice, to blot from our statute book those laws against the colored man, which if known must render us infamous in the eyes even of savages.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON.

Mount Pleasant, July 17, 1837.

NOTICES.

AGENTS FOR PHILANTHROPIST.

EDWARD WEED, Financial Agent, O. A. S. S. OHIO. Rev. Daniel Parker, New Richmond. " David C. Eastman, Bloomingburg. Dr. Jos. S. Waugh, Somerville, Butler co. " Jos. Templeton, Xenia. Daniel B. Evans, Ripley. David Powell, Steubenville. Geo. H. Benham, Oberlin. F. D. Parish, Sandusky. Samuel Hall, Marietta, Col. Nathan Nettleton, Medina. Thomas Heaton, Wellsville. Jesse Holmes, New Lisbon. Henry Harris, Ashland. C. R. Hamline, Hudson. F. F. Fenn, Tallmadge. O. Wetmore, Cuyahoga Falls. Raphael Marshall, Painesville. INDIANA. Rev. James Worth, Springhill. Andrew Robinson, Jr., Greensburg. Dr. James Ritchey, Franklin. James Morrow, South Hanover. Wm. Beard, Liberty. ILLINOIS. Dr. Thomas A. Brown, Carrollton. J. Brown, Jerseyville. Willard Keyes Quincy, Elizur M. Leonard, St. Clair. E. V. Carter, St. Clair. RHODE ISLAND. Josiah Gaily, Providence. ISAAC KNAPP, Boston. PENNSYLVANIA. Benjamin S. Jones, Philadelphia.

EMANCIPATION.

Arrival of Agents from the West Indies.

In our last we briefly announced the arrival of the Delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who have passed the last six months in visiting the English West India Islands. Joseph Horne, of New Hampshire, and James A. Thompson, of Kentucky. They are accompanied by Thomas Harvey and Dr. Lloyd of England—members of the Society of Friends, and colleagues of Joseph Sturge, who recently visited this city on his return home.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee, all the above brethren were present, and made highly interesting statements. The Executive Committee requested their agents to prepare a full account of their investigations for publication. It is expected that they will present a mass of interesting facts relating to the experiment of entire freedom and the working of the apprenticeship system—the intelligence, industry, and docility of the negroes, prejudice against color, the safety of immediate emancipation, &c. &c.

We annex the substance of the remarks made by the English brethren.—*Emancipator*.

MR. HARVEY'S REMARKS.

I need not make any remarks on the working of the apprenticeship system, in Jamaica, and the other islands, which your own delegates have visited. Their statements will, I doubt not, be more perspicuous and valuable than mine, and so far as I can judge from the conversation I have had with them, the result of our observations is the same.

The other colonies which I have seen are Dominica, St. Lucia, and Montserrat. In the two former the population is very small in proportion to the size and resources of the islands, and the apprentices are much less advanced and enlightened than in the British colonies—their religion and language being that of their former government, the French—her impure Creole patois, which is spoken, prevented us from conversing with the negroes themselves, but we ascertained that they manifested the same strong desire for education as their more happily circumstanced neighbors. In St. Lucia there is only one Protestant minister and one school. This island appears to have been neglected both by the English Governor and people, and as one of its most influential inhabitants remarked to us, scarcely a ray of light has yet reached it from any religious or benevolent society. In Dominica, the means of instruction are beginning to be extensively afforded, and though the foreign language of the people prevents adult instruction, yet the children rapidly acquire elementary knowledge, and their desire to learn English, affords an additional stimulus all equivalent to the obstacles which the use of that language in the school, interposes to their advancement.

The island of Montserrat is an interesting little colony, possessing a colored and black population of about 9000. About a year ago a proposition was made in the island legislature, to abolish the apprenticeship—the bill passed the council or upper house, and was rejected in the assembly, by one vote—that of a colored member, and quondam liberal, who being the proprietor of a number of apprentices, not attached to any real estate, but working out for hire, would have totally lost their services by emancipation.—The measure of abolition alluded to, did not originate in philanthropic motives, but was the result of a calculation, that free labor would be cheaper in the then circumstances of the colony. The bill being lost, five proprietors adopted it individually, and executed releases of the remaining services of their bondsmen, placing them at once on the footing of free laborers. Four other proprietors gave wages to their apprentices in lieu of all former allowances, except the Saturday, after a rate equal to half the computed value of their labor. These nine estates are about one-third of the whole number cultivated in sugar—the result of the measures adopted on them is most satisfactory, as we were assured by several of the proprietors themselves. The experiment of complete emancipation is decidedly favorable, and in addition to the state of Antigua, evidences by contrast with the other islands the impolicy of the apprenticeship. The conduct of the apprentices of Montserrat generally, and particularly of those on the estates above mentioned, is the more important, that the island is not densely populated, but possesses abundance of waste, fertile land which, if the often repeated assertions of the planters had been true, would have offered the means and irresistible inducement to the people to relapse into a state of barbarism, supplying their few and simple wants by the rudest and simplest cultivation of the soil. They prefer, however, to work for wages, and show as little disposition to retrograde as ourselves. Like their brethren elsewhere, they are eagerly anxious for education and religious instruction.

From my own observation, I cannot but conclude the apprenticeship to be useless and injurious. The slave did not require it as preparation, nor is it in any sense a state of preparation for freedom—if immediately emancipated, he would have done justice to himself and the community. The admirable conduct of apprentices in enduring peaceably a system so anomalous and oppressive, is the only satisfaction that the contemplation of its working affords. What would have been the influence of a compulsory sudden emancipation in such a colony as Jamaica upon agriculture and commerce is perhaps doubtful. The masters appear to have required an apprenticeship, though the slaves did not. Had the free system been at once enforced, it is probable that many in disgust and some in fear, would have withdrawn themselves and their capital from the island. Such considerations ought not, however, to have dashed with compromise an act professing to be founded on the immutable principles of justice, and I feel convinced that the enfranchised population would, even under these circumstances, have been industrious, peaceable, and prosperous.

The majority of English abolitionists hold the unsoundness of the principle of compensation. On this subject, however, I would observe, that from the general embarrassment and insolvency produced by slavery—a sum of money in the shape of a loan or a free gift, was necessary to effect the change in the most favorable manner. Even in Antigua the assistance thus afforded has contributed to the prosperity of the island which includes of course the well being of its predial population.

DR. LLOYD'S REMARKS.

Wm. Lloyd, M. D. visited Demarara and Barbice in the autumn of 1836, and now presents a short summary of the facts he there acquired.

RELIGION.—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic, all well supported by the Government—the ministers have handsome incomes, and living, rent and tax free. The Episcopalian have several schools, but the Presbyterians and Catholics are much behind on this head. There are two Methodist missionary chapels, but the most interesting mission is the independent chapel, which originally commenced under Mr. Wray, now in Barbice. The congregation have built a very handsome meeting house and infant school room, which is well attended, and the old chapel is a day school for boys. The only assistance the minister Kettly has, is freedom from taxes. As a general remark, embracing all the colonies it may be said that the regularity, the good behavior, the neatness, the numerous attendance, the singing of the negro population at their respective places of worship, cannot be surpassed by any further advanced civilized community, and as regards their good behavior, I never elsewhere saw it equalled. The ministers expect a regular attendance of six or nine miles off, and are frequently present—walking in the night to be there in time. This remark more particularly applies to Jamaica—I mention it here as connected with religion.

COMMERCE.—Very flourishing from the influx of money through the compensation, the rate being high here from the scarcity of hands. The planters received £40 for each strong man, whereas, in Antigua it was as low as £14. British. Great numbers of emigrants are brought to Demarara from Tortola, and some from the Danish Islands—Tortola is British. The planters have an agent there, who, obtaining the negroes' consent, buys out their apprenticeship. Being nominally free, they enter into bonds to work so many years for certain wages and certain indulgences, the planter calculating what he can give, after having bought them their freedom. I believe the emigrants have been well treated, but owing to the change of climate there had been some mortality. The apprentices had sent a messenger to inquire into this: he had not returned when I was there, and consequently some schooners which were waiting for their emigrants, were detained till the apprentices had satisfied themselves as to the treatment their friends had received.

MANUFACTURES.—Every conscientious stipendiary was prosecuted, and one was prosecuted through an error in the imperial act which says the owner or planter shall be

liable for such and such offences. In this case the owner was in England, and the overseer on the property brought his action against the magistrate. The suit was pending when I left. Wherever the apprentices were fairly treated, there was no complaint, and the planters congratulated themselves on the success of the apprenticeship, and though they are daily and hourly acting contrary to the spirit of the imperial act, especially as regards the pregnant women, as also their nurseries and indulgences, and yet the master exacting more from them than during slavery, having no interest in the children, and his interest in the mother terminating in 1840. His object is to obtain all he can in the intermediate time, the free children being dependant upon the mother for a maintenance and severe exertions being required from her by her master.—The consequence has been that there has been a great increase of mortality amongst the children, and a system of diabolical tyranny and hardship towards the poor women, but with all this, they are thankful for the abolition of slavery, because they cannot be flogged and exposed at any overseer's caprice. The governor, Sir James Carmichael Smith is an upright man, and has consequently been the mark for a vindictive press.

BERBICE.—This settlement is under the same administration, and the religious establishments are similar—except that education is more neglected by the patronized churches. The Rev. Mr. Wray in some measure, makes amends. He is the oldest missionary in the West Indies, and commenced in Demarara. There, as in Barbice, there was no officiating minister of any denomination except one old Dutchman, who seldom officiated. The only relief brother Wray has had, has been up to this time, an exemption from taxes, but they are threatening prosecution to enforce him to pay, so that he has lived to see three churches or sects liberally supported and himself prosecuted for a few paltry shillings. Mr. Wray has recently built a large school room which is to be open to all denominations, and is thus endeavoring to recompense good for evil.

The most remarkable feature in Barbice is a colony of free blacks, living in a village called Owen-Winkel at the edge of the town. They were freed by government after taking the colony from the Dutch. Though much has been said against the Winkel negroes, it is acknowledged by competent judges that they are a pattern for any community, being the best tradesmen or artisans, and the young women are much respected from having conducted themselves honestly and uprightly as housekeepers. The barracks at Barbice were built from the plan of a Winkel carpenter, and they are said to be the best, or equal to any in the West Indies.

There have been, in Barbice, many instances of severe oppression towards the apprentices. One was thus:—A most trustworthy negro, Mungo, was desired from his worth, to be a driver. He said he would submit to the most humiliating employment rather than lord it over his brethren. It was his excellent character and conduct, which induced his master to make him a driver of the gang. On his refusal, the stipendiary magistrate ordered him to be flogged—again refused—again flogged, and this to the fifth time. The stipendiary magistrate became so enraged, that he told Mungo he would have him flogged every time he was brought before him to the end of the apprenticeship. Soon after this threat, the magistrate was called to give an account of his stewardship by a sudden death.

There was a wholesale species of oppression in operation at Barbice—a planter bought a coffee estate, and removed the negroes, contrary to law, to his sugar estate, where the negroes would have to walk three miles to the cane-field. The negroes had, however, refused to work, and the case was *sub judice* when I left. Another case of oppression occurred at this time in the colony. A negro, Jupiter, with a withered arm and anchored elbow, was ordered to regular work with the gang. He was not able, and complained to the magistrate. The order to work was confirmed, and he was sent to go to disobedience. He could not do the work, and was again punished—at last he was ordered to leave the negro village, to live at the outside boundary of the estate, at what they call the Dam, which is no better than a swamp, and there to spend his life as a watchman, and never to be seen among his friends in the village. In these cases, and others hourly occurring, we see magistrates tyrannize over and oppress the apprentices.

BARBADOS.—You will have a report on this colony. I will just say, that the goal at Bridgeton is a sink of misery. The prisoners crowded together by night, without a board to lie on. The tread wheel in vigorous operation—a driver with his cat behind it. When I saw it, the women were held on by men over a bar; some were so weak they lost the step, and could not regain it—all their weight was suspended by the arm. Their skins were broken by the wheel—their blood stained every step, and when the spell of ten minutes was up, and their arms were loosed, they fell as dead on the floor. After a while they rose, but their agony was intense from bruised shins, benumbed arms, and flogging. This occurred during one spell, but they have many of these spells to go through every day. It was literally a breaking on the wheel. Where all this is occurring, is under the same roof as the House of Assembly. The prisoners are confined in the vaults, and the members may see the tread-mill from the room they meet in.

On my way to Jamaica, I visited St. Thomas and St. Croix. Slavery in these islands, under the present Governor, has assumed a mild form—great attention being paid to the mothers, few stripes inflicted by the masters—twelve, I believe, is the limit. The residences of the slaves, are really cottages—their allowances liberal. At West End Saint Croix, they have no goal but lodging-rooms in the Fort for the penal gang. There is a judge who sits daily to hear complaints. At Bass End there is a goal separate from the Fort. Slaves here are seldom disposed of to an individual they dislike, and have the privilege of fixing on a master, if there should be a wish, between themselves and their present masters to separate. Little or no respect is paid to the Sabbath; all the stores are open, Sunday markets in full operation; and public whippings with tamarind twigs in the marketplace. There are Moravian missionaries, who are much respected—no other sect is allowed. Education is now at a stand.

JAMAICA.—Of this island you will also have a report. It is an interesting spot for investigation, as there is every principle of good and bad at work. The exertions of the Baptist missionaries in education, &c., is remarkable, almost every chapel having its school, and some ministers having three stations, with schools attached, under their superintendence, and these established with very little help from home.

Another feature in Jamaica, is—the increasing persecution of conscientious colored magistrates. There were several appointed from Jamaica—they have been upright men not to be bought by the planters' sops, like too many of the English slaves. But the enmity against them is such, that one, during our stay, confessed he believed his life was in imminent danger. One of the most talented men on the island is a colored stipendiary magistrate. The apprenticeship, then, as a whole, is nothing but slavery under another form. The ceasing of field flogging is the best feature, though the whip has been shamefully abused by the stipendiary. With this exception, it has been worse for the women than slavery, and their sufferings, at least mental, have been increased manifold, and though every thing has conspired to weaken their attachment to their offspring, I have not heard of any charge being brought against them. In some places infant schools have been a great blessing, by taking charge of the children whilst the mothers were in the field. In no instances where the apprentices have been properly treated, have they failed in their duties to their masters as a body—there may have been individual delinquency. The great body of stipendiary magistrates have been scape-goats for the over-seers' tyranny; they have been mere tools in the planters' hands. The planter has put his bit into their mouths in the shape of dinners, lodging, &c., and has led them as he listed. This has saved the stipendiary much exertion. If he is friendly with the planters, he can go his round, sleep at one, dine at another, and finish his circuit without returning home; whereas, if persecuted, he must return home, dinnerless, every night—a distance, perhaps of twelve miles—and retrace great part of the way the following morning to resume his work at a neighboring estate. It is a most arduous office, and upwards of twenty have fallen a sacrifice in Jamaica. It is a continual pursuit after litigation under a boiling sun which few are equal to.

There is reasonable ground of apprehension, that the spirit of slavery is rife in the planters' minds, and that they will effect their object, after 1840, by vagrant laws.—Already Barbadoes' negroes cannot go to market without a pass from their master; and in Jamaica, they passed a law to seize in the market, sugar, molasses, coffee, &c., if brought to market by apprentices. The

act was passed in the colony, but has been disallowed at home.

The system has worked, it is said, well, but this has been owing to the efforts of the missionaries, and the tractability of the negroes; for the House of Assembly and the planters, as a body, have done much to make the apprenticeship an era of confusion and anarchy. It is a stepping-stone to something better, inasmuch as the principle of liberty has been sanctioned by the British Parliament and the Colonial Legislatures.

Abolition in the French Colonies.

The following petitions, says the editor of the *Emancipator*, were put into our hands by Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, on his recent visit to this city, translated from the French.

MARTINIQUE.

Petition in the form of a Protestation, by the Abolitionists of African origin, against political renegades. To THE TWO CHAMBERS.—

The freedmen of color in Martinique, come forward with the greatest eagerness, to express to you their profound and sincere gratitude for the favor you have shown towards their petition for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies; for the French government cannot fail to be aware to what degree, and how surely their support may be relied on in the issue of so important a question, on which depend the tranquility of the colony; and the peace, harmony and union of its three castes.

Apart from the consideration of humanity, the immediate emancipation of the colonies has become of urgent necessity; the discussions agitated in the bosom of colonial society have occupied all the attention of the blacks, and awakened in their hearts desires for the liberty enjoyed by their brethren in the English colonies, in the neighborhood of Martinique.

We therefore, again solicit from you, gentlemen, the immediate abolition of slavery in the French colonies; requesting that the order and safety of all classes may be secured by wise laws, and assuring you that this benefit from our mother country will be suitably received by the slave population.

For ourselves, gentlemen, we are prepared to submit to the supreme will of the government, and protest powerfully and energetically against every manifestation of a contrary spirit from the colored renegades, gained over or misled by colonial machiavellism, acting under the influence of prejudices and the terror which these prejudices inspire.

[Here follow the signatures, 372 in number.]

St. Pierre, November 25, 1836.

Last Petition to the two Chambers.

GENTLEMEN:—

We testify our respect for the noble sentiments which are entertained by the chambers of government towards the most unhappy and most numerous class in our colonies.

The solemn promises given by his Excellency, the Minister of the Marine, and of the colonies to the Chamber of Deputies, in its sitting on the 26th of May last, have filled us with the liveliest emotions of gratitude;—we see with deep interest that the government is determined to put an end to slavery, inasmuch as it is contrary to the fundamental principles of all society, and advantageous neither to the master nor to the slave. We applaud his generous resolution. We will concur in it as far as may be in our power: we will submit to every sacrifice that may be imposed on us.

When a slave can no longer be found in our colonies, it will be unnecessary to send hither those powerful garrisons, which are transported at great expense, to enforce the submission of the workmen, the precarious safety and authority of the masters. The freed slaves, having become citizens and soldiers, will be interested in the support of public order, and in defending the country of their birth.

Children of the soil, they will have nothing to fear from a climate which proves fatal every year to numerous soldiers from the mother country.

Thus the emancipation of the slaves will be an act of humanity, of justice and good policy. We invoke it with the whole heart, and reprobate every resolution opposed to it. With liberty, safety, order and tranquillity will arise; with liberty, free and paid labor will take the place of that forced and humiliating labor which demoralizes both the master and the slave;—by liberty will be formed those domestic bonds which are incompatible with every state of slavery.

But in promising to the government our united assistance, we earnestly desire that it may adopt measures which will tend to increase colonial industry, and that it will grant us commercial liberty, at least for those objects that are the most necessary to the subsistence of all classes.

We have the honor to be, &c. &c.

[Here follow the signatures of the colored abolitionists of St. Pierre.]

Short extract of a letter from Mr. Child.

Abolition in the West Indies.

"When I dined at Stoke Newington, a few miles from London, a day or two since, a gentleman well acquainted with the West Indies, told me that the four years now remaining of an apprentice's time was actually valued at more than his entire body and soul before emancipation."

"He read to me a memorandum of the prices which magistrates had put upon apprentices applying to purchase the remaining four years of their time. In thirty-four cases, taken as they arose, the lowest appraisal was £102, (\$497), and the highest was £363, (\$1,717). Formerly the "whole hog" price was but £80, (\$390)."

"This fact, if there be no mistake about it, (and I have no reason to suspect any) is as good a test of the success of West India emancipation, as the high rate of stocks in the market is of the opinion entertained as to the stability of the governments, to which they respectively belong. In truth, I think it a great deal better test; though the latter is universally admitted and relied on. The slaves in the United States have for sometime had a painful suspicion that real estate had risen in the British West Indies. Let them now know that apprentices have likewise risen, I hope they will go quite mad. They have long been wanting them to rise."—*Liberator*.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

From the Zion's Watchman.

Methodist Protestant Church and Slavery.

DEAR BROTHER:—By a resolution passed by the Seventh Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, for the New York District, which commenced its session in the city of Albany, on the 11th of April, 1837, I am directed to transmit to you for publication, the following extract from the minutes; and you are respectfully requested to give the same an insertion in the Watchman:

R. A. SPEER, Secretary.

New Brunswick, N. J., April 19, 1837.

The following memorial from the members of the Methodist Protestant Church, in New Brunswick, N. J., was presented by the delegate from that place:

MEMORIAL.

To the President and Members of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, for the New York District.

DEAR BRETHREN:—The petition of the undersigned, members of the Methodist Protestant Church, New Brunswick, N. J., respectfully sheweth—that your petitioners view with deep regret the existence of a system, in this land of civil and religious liberty, which deprives nearly three millions of human beings, upon whose countenances are impressed the image of God, of their freedom, and of the means of happiness and improvement. Your petitioners consider the existence of this system to be an evil of the greatest magnitude, a scheme that is in direct opposition to the laws of God and nature; contrary to the constitution of our country, and contrary to every principle of justice and reason. Your petitioners, therefore, ask of your body, to take the proper means of showing to all concerned, that as a body, the New York Conference condemn the holding of man, by his fellow man, in bondage, to be contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, which no human legislation can render morally right; which no worldly con-

sideration can justify, and which ought to be immediately abolished.

All of which is respectfully offered, &c.

[Signed by 24 members.]

New Brunswick, N. J., April 1, 1837.

On motion, it was Resolved, That the above be referred to a select committee—whereupon the Chair appointed brother A. R. Speer, from New Brunswick, Rev. R. C. Brisson, of Albany, brother Wm. F. Harris, of Hamilton College.

The committee made the following report, which was adopted with but one dissenting voice:

Whereas, The age and country in which we live, bring us in contact with principles, institutions and practices, the morality of which is controverted, and the expediency disputed even by good men; and whereas, we believe the church of God should be the pioneer, and not the dependent of public opinion on all great moral questions; and whereas, we believe the existence of slavery involves the question of morality, and having been most respectfully petitioned for an expression of our sentiments on this subject—We, the ministers and delegates of the Methodist Protestant Church, of the New York District, in Annual Conference assembled, do, therefore—

Resolve, That the institution of slavery, as it exists in several of these United States, is a sin against God, of the first magnitude, and should be immediately abolished. A sin, last, because it dishonors man from the lot his creator gave him in the scale of being, and reduces him to a level with the beasts of the field. 2d. Because it coercively restrains man from his obedience to the positive commands of God, by annihilating the institution of marriage; by denying him a knowledge of the laws of God, and the right of teaching them to his children, and children's children. Because it compels him, in many instances to violate the statute of Heaven in adulterous intercourse. It should be abolished because it is a sin, and sin should be immediately repented of and abandoned.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

A. R. SPEER, ROST. C. BRISBIN, Wm. F. HARRIS, Committee.

A true extract from the minutes.

A. S. SPEER, Secretary.

Ecclesiastical Silence.

PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

June 8, 1837.

Anti-Slavery Memorials.

Dr. WITHERSPOON, from the committee of bills and overtures, reported that that committee had had a number of papers submitted to them from various Synods, churches and individuals, men and women, on the subject of slavery; and the committee had unanimously agreed, (with the exception of a single member), to direct that they be returned to the House, and that he should move to lay the whole subject on the table.

The report was accepted, and the question being on laying the whole subject on the table, Dr. BEMAX made some inquiries of the chairman, as to what had passed in the committee in regard to his having the right, whenever the report should be made, to state his objections to it; and also in regard to the chairman's agreeing with him in opinion that three of these papers, viz. two memorials on the anti-slavery side and one on the other side of the question, ought to be read.

The CHAIRMAN answering in the affirmative, Dr. BEMAX inquired whether he was permitted to speak. The Moderator said that a motion to lay on the table admitted of no debate.

Mr. JESSUP and Dr. PETERS called for the reading of one of the memorials, but the Moderator ruled the motion to be out of order, as the papers were not before the house.

After some further conversation, the question on laying on the table was decided by yeas and nays, yeas 97, nays 28.

So the whole subject was laid on the table. Whereupon, Mr. CLEVELAND gave notice of protest.—*New York Observer*.

From the Friend of Men.

Ecclesiastical Action.

The following have been furnished us by the politeness of Rev. John D. Lawyer of the Lutheran church. He remarks that they are important as being the first Anti-Slavery resolutions passed by that connection. The timely action of the Franckean Synod will be a matter of rejoicing to the friends of the oppressed. "The ministers of this body," says Mr. Lawyer, "are all abolitionists."

FRANCKEAN LUTHERAN SYNOD.

At a late session of this synod, held at Fordsbush, in Montgomery county, on the 25th of May, 1837, the following resolutions were passed on the subject of American slavery:

Resolved, That slavery as it exists in the U. States, the holding in bondage, and buying and selling of human beings, is a sin in the sight of God, opposed to the spirit of the gospel, and a violation of the inalienable rights of man.

Resolved, That we do not deem it inexpedient for ecclesiastical bodies to interfere with the abolition of slavery, but that it is the duty of all such bodies, of every evangelical denomination, to bear their decided testimony against the sin of slavery.

Resolved, That we have abundant cause for deep humiliation before God, that as a denomination, we are so deeply involved in the sin of slavery, and that so many of our ministers practiced the crime, and so many others justify them in their iniquity.

Resolved, That we view the traffic in human beings as carried on in this country, and between ministers of the gospel, and members of churches, as revolting to humanity, and as repugnant to the laws of Christ, as ever was the foreign slave-trade.

From Zion's Watchman.

Methodism and Slavery.

We frequently find persons, and sometimes ministers of the Gospel, who doubt whether there is one Methodist minister in our entire church who is a slaveholder. These doubts arise, in most cases, not from a knowledge of the enormity of the sin of slavery, but for the want of information upon the subject.

An intelligent gentleman from the South, now in our office, gives us the following facts:

The Rev. B. T. B. of the M. E. Church, Raleigh, N. C., owns 150 slaves! When he first went to Raleigh, he was opposed to slavery, and preached against it. He then thought it was very wrong for masters to be carried to meeting by slaves, and the slaves be compelled to sit upon the coach box during meeting time. But after he had married an estate of 150 slaves, the Rev. Mr. B. could himself be driven to church by his slaves; and many a time have they waited outside the church on the coach box, while their kind and righteous master was preaching a slave-holding doctrine within.

The Rev. Z. S. of the M. E. Church, Wake co., N. C., about four months since became a regular slave-trader. He is now in Mississippi or Louisiana; in partnership with one or two others, engaged in this horrid traffic, and he had, when our informant last heard from him, "a gang of 200 slaves."

Another.—The Rev. Mr. C., formerly of the S. C. conference, but since of the Virginia conference, married a widow in Wilmington, N. C., who was an Episcopalian, and thereby became the owner of forty slaves. Before he married this widow, he was much opposed to slavery, and often preached against it, denouncing it in the severest terms. [We believe he has lately left the Methodist Church.]

Our informant states, that in Virginia and North Carolina, the most of the Methodist ministers are slaveholders. Two reasons are assigned for this. One is the willingness of rich planters to have their daughters marry Methodist ministers. Another is, the former opposition that was manifested by the early Methodist preachers against slavery, naturally made the colored people prefer to attend their meetings. This excited the jealousy of the slaveholders; and to remove it the ministers have become holders of slaves. [This fact was communicated by Dr. Capers, at the last General Conference.]

Since the excitement about abolition, the Methodist ministers, in many places at the South, have lost their hold on the confidence of the people of color, because they have treated them with more coolness and severity.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

MILES'S COMPOUND EXTRACT OF

TOMATO

OR, SUBSTITUTE FOR CALOMEL.

The proprietors of this article, after protracted and expensive research, believe they have obtained from the vegetable kingdom, a safe and certain substitute for calomel; at least so far as calomel exerts any beneficial effects upon the human system; an article free from all substances productive of deleterious consequences.

The action of this medicine upon the constitution, is universal; no part of the system escaping its influence. It is, however, upon the organs of secretion and excretion, that its great power is particularly manifested. From this it will be seen to have a direct effect upon the biliary organs, and to be peculiarly adapted to the treatment of bilious fevers, and other diseases, in which a torpidity or congestion of the liver and portal circle prevail.

It is admissible in all cases, where it is necessary to clear the stomach and bowels. It removes obstruction, and excites a quick and healthy action of the liver, and other glandular viscera of the abdomen. Being diffusible in its operations, it produces a free circulation in the vessels on the surface of the body, accompanied by a gentle perspiration. It does not exhaust like drastic purgatives; still, its action is more universal, and it may be often repeated, not merely with safety, but with great benefit. This becomes indispensably necessary in cases of long standing, for in them intense temporary impressions made by strong medicines, seldom, if ever do good, but tend to injure the stamina of the constitution.

It is cleansing and purifying to the system, acts in perfect harmony with the known laws of life, and is undoubtedly, one of the most valuable articles ever offered for public trial or inspection.

This medicine may be had at Apothecaries' Hall, Main Street, one door above Fifth Street.

A. MILES, Agent.

June 24, 22—tf

FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

An excellent farm of 198 acres, 13 miles from town, having 120 acres in a high state of cultivation; two good orchards of apple, pear, peach and English cherry trees; a large new frame barn, a good cider house, with a mill and a press, a wagon house, a corn crib, grain, smoke and carriage houses, hog pens, a new milk house with three rooms, an excellent frame house with seven rooms, a cellar and a porch; also, a first rate culinary garden, and many springs. The land is very rich and well situated for cultivation.

A fertile farm of 136 acres, 8 miles from town, with 70 acres in culture, the rest well timbered with Walnut, Blue Ash, Sugar and Locust trees. The improvements consist of a frame house, with four rooms, a cellar and a porch; a frame barn, two stables, a well and a good orchard of choice fruit trees. The land is rich, rolling, well fenced and watered with springs.

A farm of 100 acres, 17 miles from town, having 50 acres in cultivation, the rest abounding with the best kind of rail timber, a small orchard, a well with a pump, a frame house and other buildings. The land is chiefly rich bottom.

A desirable farm of 160 acres, 70 miles from town, and one mile from the Ohio, with 50 acres well improved, a vineyard, two orchards of apple and peach trees, of excellent quality; a good house with four rooms and a cellar; also, 3 stables, a crib, a smoke house, an excellent water and two never failing springs. The land is of good quality, and situated well for cultivation.

A desirable farm of 510 acres, 30 miles from town, having 200 acres in